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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 350



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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

EGYPT'S CURRENT POLITICAL SITUATION DISCUSSED

Beijing SHIJIE ZHISHI [WORLD KNOWLEDGE] in Chinese No 12, 6 Jun 82 pp 4-5

[Article by Yuan Yin [5373 0995]: "Egypt's Political Situation After Recovery of the Sinai"]

[Text] On 25 April, Egypt recovered its entire Sinai Peninsula, as expected. The Egyptian president stressed that this indicated "the close of an era" and the beginning of "a new and complex period." As the cheers died down gradually, President Mubarak admonished his countrymen: the tasks the country faces are formidable and heavy; "the challenge of peace is not necessarily easier to cope with than the challenge of war." People have reason to feel optimistic about the future, but the road leading to the period ahead is by no means strewn with flowers.

From his ascension to the presidency up to April this year, Mubarak has mainly devoted his efforts to foreign policy in order to assure recovery of the Sinai. According to available reports, from now on he will stress the solution of domestic construction problems. Economic problems are still Egypt's number one difficulty. The situation is severe. The general decline of the economy of the West has affected Egypt's economy. Egypt's yearly oil exports roughly amount to 18 million tons, and the foreign exchange they earn make up 65 percent of Egypt's foreign exchange income. Because of the decrease in oil prices last year, its income was \$3 billion; according to estimates, it will be reduced to \$2.3 billion this year. Income from tolls for traversing the Suez Canal were originally estimated at \$1.2 billion, but because of a decrease in the number of vessels going through the canal and the reduction of the toll charge in proportion to U.S. dollars (paid by special right of withdrawal), the actual income amounted only to \$900 million. Overseas remittance home will also decrease, as more than 3 million Egyptians working abroad nowadays often deposit their money in foreign banks in order to earn higher interest. Tourist income has also decreased by 30 percent during the past few months. These four categories of revenue used to be lauded as the four pillars of the Egyptian economy, but now they are all in decline. The trend of capital drain which has appeared since the assassination of al-Sadat still remains; only its pace has now become slower. On the other hand, the population is continuing to grow; according to estimates, the country's population now reaches 44 million.

Egyptians today are facing reality squarely and are searching actively for a policy to cope with the situation. When Mubarak expounded on the government's principal economic policies at the "1 May" celebrations gathering, he stressed that Egypt will continue to readjust its economy and promote national develop-

ment through the development of production. The important thing is to improve the work of the publicly managed sector and at the same time "strengthen the private sector" as a supplement to the publicly managed sector. He placed emphasis on the development of agriculture and the reduction of food imports; the government is to energetically develop building in the Sinai. The Sinai not only has rich mineral deposits (oil, natural gas, manganese and coal) but also a beautiful southern coast, precious fish and colorful coral as well as a distinctive desert scene; it is a vast area for the development of tourist industries. In order to link the Egyptian mainland with the Sinai Peninsula, car traffic through an underground tunnel below the Suez Canal was opened last April; the government is planning to build two more tunnels. According to the plan, the Sinai is to be built into a prosperous home for 500,000 people.

What is the political situation there? It is basically stable. The organized opposition forces can be generally divided into two categories. One consists of political opposition factions, and the other of the orthodox forces of Islam. The purely exclusive and combative approach against them adopted by al-Sadat made too many enemies. Mubarak, on his part, seeks to treat them differently. Toward the former, he stresses the implementation of "national reconciliation," calling upon them to "help each other" and refrain from "fighting each other," "persecuting each other." Egypt's three main opposition parties, the National Progressive Union Party, the Socialist Freedom Party, and the Socialist Labor Party, have all been restored to their legitimate status. In his conversation with leaders of these parties, he indicated that all "major questions of a national character" must be submitted to the assembly for approval only after discussions and negotiations between the party in power and the opposition parties. The opposition parties also indicated their support for his current policies. He also wants to work on the opposition factions abroad through the domestic opposition factions. He has at various times named prominent figures of opposition factions to visit abroad as the president's special envoys. According to rumors published in Lebanese newspapers, one of his special envoys, Khalid Muhyi-al-Din, has met with the leader and former chief of staff Shazli, of the largest opposition organization abroad, the National Front. Mubarak is willing to be reconciled with him and invite him home to participate in government work.

As for the religious extremist forces who insist on remaining hostile to the current administration, Mubarak is determined to crack down on them, and this has greatly hurt the strength of the "iron rod orthodox organization," which previously had some influence. But there are still some extremist elements who continue their activities, and there are even some who let it be known that they intend to harm Mubarak.

With respect to the National Democratic Party in power, Mubarak is to carry out a reorganization "in order to have this party adapt to the needs of the new stage." On 28 April, Mubarak appointed Prime Minister Fu'ad Muhyi-al-Din as general secretary of the party, with Mubarak himself serving concurrently as chairman of the party. He is going to rectify the party soon, reportedly so as to cleanse away "corrupt and inept" party members and elevate "young and vigorous" party members.

According to reports, Mubarak takes the question of cracking down on corruption and graft as an important question on the "domestic front." The reports point out that this is not only a requirement for reforming the economy but also a measure to eliminate obstacles in politics and weaken and crack down on a part of the big bourgeoisie. A nationwide movement to expose corruption and graft already was started last year. Egyptian newspapers revealed many problems of the al-Sadat era. When Mubarak received the editors in chief of these newspapers, he said: "Don't hurt the dead president. But this does not mean refraining from uncovering rotten people and events. We do not protect any crooked practices or devious ways." The Egyptian MAY weekly says: "In the past few years a rich class has appeared; the members of this class have gained legendary, unprecedented wealth; among them some have gained such wealth legitimately, while others have seized it by unscrupulous means." To "these people who damage our open-door policy, encroach upon the nation's properties, and stuff several hundred million Egyptian pounds into their pockets," "whoever they may be and however high their status may be," we must "discipline them according to the law" in order to "restore people's trust." These people will of course not submit passively; a struggle is inevitable.

9255

CSO: 4005/1118

PARTY AND STATE

CHINESE HISTORIANS CRITICIZE JAPANESE DISTORTION IN HISTORY TEXTBOOKS

Historians' Remarks

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 3 Aug 82 p 4

[Text] Shenyang, 2 August (HSINHUA)--A number of our country's historians and workers in the field of history, attending the 2nd annual meeting of the Chinese Society for the Study of Japanese History at Shenyang, pointed out that the action of the Japanese Education Ministry in distorting the history of Japan's aggression against China in the Japanese school textbooks is extremely damaging to Sino-Japanese friendship.

Wan Fang [8001 1496], a scholar of Japanese history and vice president of the Chinese Society for the Study of Japanese History, said that during the last 100 years the foremost target of aggression of Japanese militarism during its formative and developmental stages was China. The calamities inflicted on the Chinese people by Japan's aggression were very grievous. This historical fact cannot be denied by any fair-minded Chinese or non-Chinese person. If the Japanese Education Ministry uses the term "advanced into" China to absolve Japanese militarism from its crime of having invaded China, this clumsy trick cannot deceive the peoples of China and Japan.

Wu Jie [0702 2638], vice president of the Chinese Society for the Study of Japanese History and specialist in Japanese history, said that through its screening and approving of textbooks, the Japanese Education Ministry tries to embellish the history of foreign aggression by militarism, with the aim of leaving a favorable impression to later generations. This is really not possible. The correct method must be to explain the true state of events and thus educate the future generations to draw deeply penetrating lessons from history. Only in this way can the peoples of China and Japan live on in friendship generation after generation.

Hu Xinian [5170 6932 1628], a historian of Sino-Japanese relations and a professor of history at the Shaanxi Normal University, said, if a country sends its troops into another sovereign country, occupies its territory, massacres its people and plunders its goods and materials, if that is not aggression, what is? During the war, the Japanese people also became victims of much suffering. After the collapse of Japanese militarism, the Japanese people further had to endure a period of great hardship. Well-informed

Japanese teachers are instructing the younger generation according to the true historical facts. In the last 30 years the Japanese economy has developed very rapidly, but the conduct of Japanese national policy must never again take the old disastrous road of militarism. If a certain small minority of people were given freedom to do as they please, future developments could take an extremely dangerous course.

Wu Tingqiu [0702 1694 2868], historian, president of the Chinese Society for the Study of Japanese History and professor of history at the Nankai University, said that in our studies of history we must uphold the following two principles: firstly, that historical facts tolerate no alteration, and secondly, that a clear demarcation must be made between right and wrong. If the Japanese Education Ministry takes the opportunity of "screening and approving" textbooks to distort the history of Japanese aggression against China, this is not an "internal affair," but an insult to the Chinese people and the peoples of the world. Wu emphatically stated that the move of a small group of Japanese right-wingers, who have the preposterous idea of reversing the trend of history, will only have them run into a stone wall.

All the historians and workers in the field of history who attended the 2nd annual meeting of the Chinese Society for the Study of Japanese History, unanimously passed a resolution to protest the action of the Japanese Education Ministry of distorting the history of the aggression perpetrated by Japanese militarism against China, a distortion committed by the said ministry's on the occasion of its screening and approving of school textbooks.

Younger Generation 'Deceived'

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 8 Aug 32 p 8

[Article by Ma Heqing [7456 7729 7230]: "What Seeds Are They Planting?"]

[Text] When I read the RENMIN RIBAO of 24 July, a strange news item came to my notice, namely that the Education Ministry of the Japanese Government distorted the Japanese aggression against China into an "advance into and return out from" China, in the textbooks to be used in their middle and elementary schools.

How exquisitely expressed as "advance into and return out from!" It is true though, that in those certain years the Japanese militarists really went into China and again returned out from China. However, the Japanese Education Ministry has not enough courage to make it clear in what manner they went in and came out again.

This reminded me of an event 17 years back. At that time diplomatic relations had not yet been restored between China and Japan, and I was asked to help entertain a Japanese group on a friendship tour of China. There was a woman in the group who inquired immediately on arrival in Guangzhou: "Do we pass Shijiazhuang on our way to Beijing? My father fell in action at Shijiazhuang." She added: "My father was in the military and was killed in 1940 west of Shijiazhuang! He was a truly upright Japanese military officer."

The Chinese who were present when she said this immediately recalled that in 1940 west of Shijiazhuang the Japanese aggressor army pursued a policy of blood and fire, namely of "burn all, kill all, loot all." However, when meeting "a friend who has come from afar" [Mencius] for the first time, one must not hastily get into an argument, the more so in this case since that "upright" Japanese military officer-father of hers was killed at a time when she herself was merely a little child in elementary school. At that time the textbooks in Japanese elementary schools must have told her that her father was engaged in building up that absolutely glorious "Greater East Asia Coprosperity Sphere." A Chinese proverb says: "The ignorant must not be held criminally responsible." We therefore merely dismissed her talk with a smile.

For over a month after this event I accompanied this Japanese group on their friendship tour of China. I much admired the Japanese woman's eagerness to increase her knowledge. She was not only touring past the various places, but extremely eager to inquire and observe the actual conditions of China and to acquaint herself with recent Chinese history. She went into the Chinese factories to talk with the workers and in the Chinese countryside, which the Japanese aggressor troops had once "advanced into and returned out from," she listened to the old people telling of the changes in their lives. She looked at films and photos taken in China by Chinese and non-Chinese (including some by her Japanese countrymen) between 1937 and 1945 and read through the historical documents concerning that period. Somewhat over a month later, that once-lively Japanese woman was no more chatting and laughing much; she was lost in thought and even at the get-together party had an abashed and pained expression on her face.

One day she suddenly asked me: "You Chinese must be hating us Japanese?"

I said: "Have you had the feeling all this past month that we hate you?" When she heard this, she first silently wept and then cried out unrestrainedly. We were sitting with her for quite some time without saying anything. A person who has had the experience of her family being broken up and relatives killed and who had been deceived for a long time, cannot be consoled with only a few words.

In the evening of the first day that this Japanese group of visitors had returned home, the woman looked us up and said with tears in her eyes: "In our country, Japan, most people are in favor of Sino-Japanese friendship, but some are out to destroy Sino-Japanese friendship! To my great regret, the organization I work for is against Sino-Japanese friendship. After my return to Japan this time, I will give up my work there and rather be unemployed. From now on I will participate as much as I can in activities that promote Sino-Japanese friendship. Good-bye!" She had tears in her eyes as she bowed deeply to us.

This small event is already 17 years back. The Japanese middle school and elementary school children that had been deceived in those years have already grown up and by now will have realized the true circumstances of many historical events. However, presently there are again people who are

deceiving a new generation of Japanese middle school and elementary school children!

It is known to all that following World War II, the Japanese economy developed very rapidly. When people discuss the reasons for the economic recovery of Japan, they usually refer to the importance that the Japanese attached to science and technology and to their intellectual investment. What kind of an "intellectual investment" is the Japanese Education Ministry now pursuing in the science of history? What kind of seeds are they planting?

Their Ministry of Education of course does not lack men of learning and does not lack men who know well the true circumstances of the "advance into and return out from" China of the Japanese military in those years, but just look: how can they face the Chinese people and their own countrymen with what they are doing now!

9808

CSO: 4005/1177

PARTY AND STATE

PARTY MEMBERS URGED TO RETAIN COMMUNIST IDEALS

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 1 Jul 82 p 1

[Article: "Communist Party Members Must Hold Firm Communist Ideals"]

[Text] Our great Chinese Communist Party already has a glorious 61-year history.

From the day our party was established, we in the CCP have firmly embraced an aim and struggled heroically to realize the great ideals of communism. Our party constitution clearly states our goal--the struggle goal of our party is the realization of communism. On the day he takes an oath and enters the party, every party member expresses his determination to struggle to the end of his days for communism. Therefore, whether overturning the "three great mountains," building the new China or carrying out socialist revolution and socialist construction, or even constructing socialist material and spiritual civilizations in the new historical period, the broad ranks of Communist Party members all have fostered their vanguard model roles, led the masses to succeed against all difficulties and seized victory after victory. Recently, every network and unit in this city individually has commended groups of excellent Community Party members. Politically, these excellent party members have maintained unanimity with the party Central Committee and resolutely and thoroughly implemented the line, principles and policies of the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee; in their work, they have been active and diligent, immersing themselves in their work and maintaining integrity in the performance of their duties; organizationally, they have upheld party principles, adhered strictly to party regulations and preserved the unity of the party; and in workstyle, they have formed intimate ties with the masses, been courageous in self-criticism, been loyal and honest, humble and cautious, and have exhibited greater concern for the party and the masses than for the individual. In short, a common feature is their firm belief in communism and their bringing of these far-reaching ideals to every item of work in the new period, fostering the strength of example.

But 10 years of internal chaos damaged our party style, and some Communist Party members suffered the corrosive effects of liberalism, anarchism, ultra-individualism, the remnants of feudal ideology and various other unhealthy tendencies. They forgot their oaths to struggle to the end of their days for communism. What of liberating all mankind, what of great ideals? They seemed

to feel no need to be concerned with all this, as their attention was focused all day on the matters immediately before them. Because for a period the party made mistakes in its guiding ideology, socialist construction suffered setbacks and the nation faced temporary difficulties, some party members, including individual old party members and old cadres, had their faith in communism shaken, and even went so far as to suggest that communist ideals were only the "affecting of a high moral tone." Among the party members who entered the party during the "Great Cultural Revolution," there were some comrades who did not have a basic understanding of the party, and some of them even ridiculed the establishment of communist ideals as a joke. At the same time, in recent years, while the party Central Committee has been carrying out the policies of opening the doors to the outside and stimulating the economy, a small number of party members have not been resolutely and correctly carrying out the principles and policies of the party Central Committee, but, on the contrary, under the enticement and corruption of capitalist ideology and lifestyle, have been corrupted, have been struck by the sugarcoated bullets, have betrayed communist ideals and have degenerated into economic criminals.

This makes clear the tremendous need at present to strengthen the communist ideological education of Communist Party members, to confirm communist ideals and to preserve communist purity! Communist ideals are the core of the party character training of the Communist Party member and are a central pillar in the construction of a socialist spiritual civilization. It is precisely these great ideals that have encouraged Chinese Communist Party members to climb snowy mountains, to traverse wide plains, to cross the Yellow and the Yangtze Rivers, to do battle everywhere, to fill in where others have fallen, to face the white terror, to feel duty bound to forge ahead, defeating reactionary factions inside and outside the party, and to revitalize China on the foundation of self-strengthening, allowing us to stand among the world's peoples. It was precisely such communist ideals that nurtured Fang Zhimin [2455 1807 2404], Liu Hulan [0491 5170 5695] and Dong Cunrui [5516 1317 3843], as well as Xue Feng [7185 6912], Jiao Yulu [3542 5940 4389], Wang Jinxin [3769 6651 0823] and Zhang Zhixin [1728 1807 2450]--these glorious communist warriors. More than 100 years ago, the revolutionary guides Marx and Engels and numerous other revolutionaries of previous generations were able to believe that communist ideals could be realized, so how can it be that we today, having already carried out long and arduous struggle for this ideal and having made great accomplishments, do not believe that the noble ideals of communism can be realized? We should point out that whether or not one speaks of communist ideals, whether or not one has a firm belief in communism, is a measure of that party member's qualifications and is an important indication of whether or not he or she has cultivated a party character. And this is an important matter relating to whether or not our party can maintain its character as the vanguard of the working class. A Communist Party member who is not concerned with communist ideals develops the shortsightedness of a mouse, attending only to interests before his eyes, or even becoming a person diligent in scheming for his private benefit. It is easy to lose sight of distant goals while implementing today's policies, to lose a sense of direction and even to become corrupted by capitalism. Many bitter facts in real life are proof of this.

A journey of 1,000 miles begins with a single step. To be realized, great ideals rely on countless ordinary practical items of work. At present, we assess whether or not a party member holds communist ideals primarily by seeing if he unwaveringly implements the line, principles and policies established for the new historical period by the party Central Committee; if, in every position he occupies, he displays a spirit of arduous struggle, independent self-direction and self-strengthening, and struggles in order to build our nation into a strong, modern, highly civilized, highly democratic socialist country.

In the construction of the "two civilizations," in whatever position one occupies in work, having communist ideals gives one an elated and vigorous mental state, energy and vitality, and establishes the will to be independent and self-directed and to arduously struggle to realize socialist modernization construction. We are firm and unshakable in opening the door to the outside and learning from all advanced foreign things. But we communists have never made a habit of placing our hopes on the favors of others, nor of bowing and scraping obsequiously. In carrying out revolution and construction in the past, we relied on self-strengthening and arduous struggle. Hereafter, in carrying out modernization, we must continue to rely on this line and to base things on arduous struggle where we stand on solid ground. We must certainly embrace a strong will, not fear difficulties, pursue evil, cling to the old, or be complacent about our accomplishments; we must be eager to innovate and ceaselessly seek new creations and breakthroughs. If all the people of the entire nation and the entire party will develop such a style and such a mental state, then we will succeed in our construction of socialist material and spiritual civilizations.

Communist Party members must hold fast to communist ideals and use communist morality to guide their speech and actions. Every Communist Party member, especially party Cadres, should have lofty sentiments and possess the noble virtues of selfless devotion to the common good, abandonment of thoughts of personnel gain, self-denial for public good, self-immersion in hard work, and wholehearted service of the people. The notion of those who compare the policy of the present stage of "from each according to his ability and distribution according to work" with communist ideals that socialist society should not advocate communist morality is obviously mistaken and harmful. Upholding the principle and policy of distribution according to work does not mean that we cannot support communist morals and work attitudes. On the contrary, only by forcefully advocating communist morals and work attitudes do we have a reliable ideological guarantee that the principle of distribution according to work and the series of present policies will be thoroughly implemented. Among Communist Party members and party cadres, we should especially advocate using communist morality in handling work (indicating occupational ethics in every field and industry) and in dealing with others. In society, Communist Party members must act as models in adhering to public morality, caring about the masses, being reasonable and yielding, and uniting comrades; at home, they must act as models in respecting the elderly and caring for the young, establishing mutual respect between husband and wife, and being friendly with neighbors. Communist Party members are advanced elements among the masses. If a Communist Party member does not display lofty morals and a communist work attitude, but rather is stingy and calculating, money-grubbing, unwilling to work even a half-hour more

than anyone else, unwilling to be paid less than anyone else, and does not care for, protect and unite people, then how can he be called a communist vanguard warrior? And how can he lead the masses in struggling to realize communist ideals?

Communist Party members must hold fast to communist ideals and maintain strict organizational discipline. The Communist Party is the vanguard of the worker class and is organized with extremely strict, iron discipline. Discipline is the organizational guarantee of the realization of communist ideals. As Comrade Chen Yun [7115 0061] said: "Our party is a fighting party. The only weapon we rely on in our struggles is discipline." Communist Party members should first and foremost adhere to party discipline in a model way and adhere to the "Guiding Principles of Inner-Party Political Life." Politically, we must maintain unanimity with the party Central Committee and not tolerate apparent adherence while practicing covert violation of the line, principles and policies of the party Central Committee; ideologically, we must uphold Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and not permit bourgeois liberalization; in workstyle, we must oppose privileges and unhealthy tendencies; organizationally, we must uphold democratic centralism, obey organization transfers, strictly guard party and state secrets, not permit factionalism, not engage in anarchism or liberalism, and not merely attend to "individual freedom" without attending to party character. At the same time, all Communist Party members should obey political and legal regulations in an exemplary fashion, including regulations concerning labor, financial and foreign affairs.

Communism is mankind's most advanced ideological system and is the most progressive and rational social system. Party organizations at every level should, in accordance with actual conditions, strengthen the communist ideological education of all Communist Party members. We must utilize teaching materials showing both positive and negative examples of the present attacks on serious criminal activities in the economic realm to give party members realistic and effective education in party style and character. If the broad ranks of Communist Party members will firmly hold to communist ideals and maintain communist purity, then the styles of the party, the government and the people will naturally be renewed; and our great, glorious and correct Chinese Communist Party will certainly gain vitality and fighting strength and will be able to lead the people of the nation in attaining greater victories.

9705

CSO: 4005/1093

PARTY AND STATE

SELF-SACRIFICE OF PARTY MEMBERS ENCOURAGED

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 18 Jul 82 p 4

[Article by Zang Jianxin [5258 1696 2450]: "Thinking of 'Huang Gai Asking To Be Flogged'"]

[Text] The story of Zhou Yu flogging Huang Gai in the "Romance of the Three Kingdoms" is a wonderful tale known to old and young. I always applauded the way Zhou Yu used the "bodily injury ruse" to hoodwink Cao Cao and felt moved with admiration for Huang Gai who willingly accepted the pains of personal bodily injury in a spirit of courageous self-sacrifice.

Cao Cao was commander in chief of almost 1 million men when he prepared to conquer East Wu. In the face of this huge enemy force and well conscious of the great disparity in strength between their own and the enemy's forces, most of the high civil and military officials were awed by Cao's military might and suggested surrender and declaring oneself vassal to Cao. However, the great general Huang Gai was not cowed by the overwhelming might of Cao Cao and bravely stepped forward to present an effective ruse, even going so far as to offer up his own body. Indeed this kind of a spirit demands general admiration.

Huang Gai was a general of East Wu, possessed of a noble character and high prestige. He held a high position and received a handsome salary. When the enemy force was bearing down upon the border, he could well have used the excuse of advanced age and infirmity to retire to a luxurious and happy life in the countryside, but he was determined to set aside his individual safety, glory and happiness. His action shows that he did not fish for fame and social recognition or had the idea of any personal gain. How can such high morality and great unselfishness not arouse general admiration and respect.

In order to have Cao Cao fall for the "bodily injury ruse," Huang Gai asked to be flogged in a way that appeared to be real. It would not do to flog him only perfunctorily, while on the other hand a heavy flogging was extremely painful. Moreover, Huang Gai was already advanced in age; could he stand a flogging? However, Huang Gai did not consider his individual safety, but wanted to give up everything for the purpose of defeating Cao Cao. He therefore asked on his own accord to be flogged. How can such heroic and fearless spirit not drive tears to one's eyes!

The spirit of asking willingly to endure hardships for the interests of one's country and people and of courageous self-sacrifice, is the glorious tradition of our Chinese nation. The reason why our Communist Party could lead the people of the whole country in the overthrow of the "three big mountains" [imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism], could build up New China and gain the brilliant victories of our days, is also our carrying forward and cultivating this glorious tradition and moral excellence. The veterans in our party have willingly accepted hardships and courageously offered their lives for the great cause of communism. Under the reign of the white terror they joined the revolution and fought courageously, one stepping into the breach as another fell. Dong Cunrui [5516 1317 3843], Qiu Shaoyun [6726 1421 0061] and Huang Jiguang [7806 4949 0342] courageously offered up their lives and sacrificed themselves at a critical moment of the fighting for victory in the battle. The heroes of our women battalions willingly accepted hardships and engaged in courageous fighting, thereby finally winning the laurels of victory acknowledged by the whole world. All these are instances of the lofty revolutionary spirit of courageously sacrificing one's life.

Building up our socialist modernization is the great historical mission of our party. In this great and arduous task, how much we need cultivation of this spirit of willingly asking to endure hardships and of courageously giving up one's life! All those who worship foreign things and fawn on foreign powers, who have resigned themselves to their backwardness, who harbor no great aspirations, who always pick easy jobs and shirk the hard ones, should better bestir themselves thoroughly. Those who put their faith in such mistaken ideas as "the bird that sticks its head out will get shot," "less responsibility is better than more responsibility," and "one eye open, one eye shut, will not get you become any movement's butt," should examine their consciences, awaken to the truth and quickly catch up with the pace of the revolution!

Raise and foster the spirit of sacrificing oneself for the cause of the revolution.

9808

CSO: 4005/1177

PARTY AND STATE

DESIRABILITY OF HIGHLY DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL SYSTEM STRESSED

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 15 Jul 82 p 3

[Article by Lu Xiuqing [0712 4423 0615]: "Build a Highly Democratic Political System"]

[Excerpt] The building of a highly democratic socialist political system is determined on the basis of the socialist economy. Democracy belongs to the superstructure, to the political category, but in the final analysis it is also a reflection of a certain economic base, and serves a certain economic base. As pointed out in the revised draft constitution, "the basis of the socialist economic system of the People's Republic of China is socialist public ownership of the means of production, i.e., ownership by all the people and ownership by the collective working masses." It has abolished the system of man exploiting man and implemented the principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work." The proletarian class and the broad working masses have become the masters of the means of production. That has essentially determined their equal political status and has determined their actual right to serve as masters. The main characteristics of that right are participation by the people in managing the nation, ensuring the consolidation and development of the socialist economic base, and safeguarding the basic interests of the proletarian class and the working people. That is the basis of our country's socialist democratic system.

In order to ensure the supreme right enjoyed by the people--managing the nation--the revised draft constitution stipulates, "All authority of the People's Republic of China is vested in the people." "The organs which exercise the national rights of the people are the National People's Congress and the local people's congresses at the various levels." Why is the people's congress the best organization and form for exercising the people's national management? First, the people's congress system is the system with the broadest democratic base. The National People's Congress is made up of delegates elected by provinces, autonomous regions, directly dependent municipalities, and army units, and each ethnic minority group has a suitable quota. That proves the broad democratic nature and the broad representative nature of our people's congress system. Second, our country's peoples congresses implement the organizational principle of democratic centralism. On a national scale, from top to bottom, it implements democracy

on a democratic-based centralism and under centralized guidance. It requires all national organs to implement the principles of the minority submitting to the majority, the lower echelon submitting to the upper echelon, and the local level submitting to the central level. That type of centralized democracy, which correctly unites democracy and centralization, both enables the broad masses to enjoy broad democracy and unites the broad popular masses in exercising their national rights with a high degree of centralization. Third, the revised draft constitution stipulates that "Delegates to the people's congresses must maintain close ties with their constituent unit and people, listen to and pass on the opinions and requirements of the people and, in their participation in production, work, and social life, help implement the constitution and laws." Those delegates are also "subject to control by the constituent unit. The constituent unit has the right to, in accordance with the procedure stipulated by the constitution, whenever necessary recall the delegate it elected." That causes the delegates to be responsive to the people and maintain close ties to them, and to do their work under the direct supervision of the masses. In that manner, socialist democracy has a solid basis.

With regard to ensuring the democratic rights of the popular masses, the draft also makes several other new stipulations. For example, the people exercise direct democracy at the basic political administration level and directly elect, supervise, and recall the basic-level political administration representatives; in urban and rural enterprises the working masses exercise democratic management of the enterprises; in state enterprises the staff and workers, by means of staff and workers' congresses and other forms, participate in enterprise management; and collective economic organizations exercise democratic management according to law, and decide the major questions in management through managers elected and recalled by their workers, etc. Those stipulations ensure the mastership right of the working people on the basis of democracy and law. They symbolize the development of our country's socialist democratic system to a new stage.

5616

CSO: 4005/1222

PARTY AND STATE

MEETINGS HELD TO STUDY REVISED DRAFT CONSTITUTION

Eighteenth Standing Committee Meeting

Harbin HARBIN RIBAO in Chinese 20 Jul 82 p 1

[Article by Guo Shimin [6753 1102 3046]: "Municipal CPPCC Holds 18th Standing Committee Meeting To Study and Discuss 'The Revised Draft Constitution of the CPPCC'"]

[Text] The 18th enlarged meeting of the Standing Committee of the 5th Municipal CPPCC was held from the 15th to the 17th. The meeting transmitted the document dispatched by the CPPCC Committee for Drafting the Constitution. In their separate group discussions, the Standing Committee members attending the meeting unanimously held that "The Draft Constitution of the CPPCC" reflected the historical outlook and present state of the CPPCC, eliminated the "leftist" ideological influence and erroneous things, accurately summed up the historical experiences, clearly defined the nature of the CPPCC and the historical tasks which it shoulders, and met the needs of the development of the new situation.

Ma Kaiyin, vice chairman of the municipal CPPCC, asked at the conclusion of the meeting that the municipal and district CPPCC integrate closely the study and discussion of the "Revised Draft Constitution of the CPPCC" with the study of the party's theory and policy of the united front, make use of all forms to organize CPPCC members to launch a study and discussion on a large scale, actively bring forth suggestions on revision and enable the revision of the constitution of the CPPCC to become even more perfected.

Twenty-first Standing Committee Meeting

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 21 Jul 82 p 1

[Article by Wen Bin [2429 1755] and Zuo Wen [0155 2429]: "4th Provincial CPPCC Held 21st Standing Committee Enlarged Meeting To Study and Discuss the Revised Draft Constitution of the CPPCC"]

[Text] The 21st enlarged meeting of the Standing Committee of the 4th Provincial CPPCC was held in Ichun Municipality from the 13th to the 16th.

The agenda of this meeting included: Discussing the "Revised Draft Constitution of the CPPCC" and proposing amendments.

In the midst of the enthusiasm of giving full play to democracy and speaking without inhibition, the members attending the meeting conscientiously studied and enthusiastically discussed the revised draft of the constitution of the CPPCC. With high political fervor and with a sense of responsibility of being master of one's own affairs, the members deliberated section by section the revised draft of the constitution of the CPPCC, expressed their opinions individually, and proposed valuable amendments.

Wang Ilun, secretary of the Provincial Party Committee and chairman of the Provincial CPPCC, presided over the meeting and spoke. Zhang Ruilin, Wang Mingguai, Tang Liandi, Wang Zhaozhi, Sun Xiqi, Guo Shouchang, and Jin Langbai, vice chairman of the Provincial CPPCC attended the meeting.

Also attending the meeting were members of the CPPCC in our province, some members of the Provincial CPPCC, secretaries general of the various municipal CPPCC and concerned comrades of the united front department of the regional party committee.

Provincial, Municipal Meetings

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 22 Jul 82 p 1

[Article by staff reporter: "On the Study of the Revised Draft of the Constitution"]

[Text] On the morning of the 20th, the Standing Committee of the Provincial People's Congress convened a study meeting for professional cadres of the various political and legal departments to discuss the "Revised Draft of the Constitution."

In their discussion, comrades attending the meeting felt that the "Revised Draft of the Constitution" summed up the basic experiences in building the country for more than 30 years and took as the guiding ideology the perseverance in the four basic principles. They felt that this would guarantee our country's victorious advance along the socialist road.

In the discussion, the comrades recalled some of the lessons learned from the history of our country, and held that, in order to safeguard the implementation of the constitution, it is not enough to make a rule of supervising the implementation of the constitution among the functions and powers of the NPC Standing Committee. It is necessary to add in the constitution sections on how to safeguard the implementation of the constitution, so that it is possible to supervise better the implementation of the constitution and to investigate and handle the problem of the various violations against the constitution. Those attending also took into consideration the reality in the political and legal work in proposing amendments and addenda with regard to such aspects as state organization, rights and duties of the citizens and perfection of the legal system.

Trade Union Study Meeting

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 22 Jul 82 p 1

[Article by Hou Xuyu [0186 2485 1342] and Xi Yunting [1153 0061 0080]: "On Studying the Revised Draft of the Constitution"]

[Text] The Provincial and Harbin Municipal Trade Unions invited a portion of the model laborers to attend a study meeting held at the Harbin Municipal Worker's Cultural Palace on the 21st to discuss the Revised Draft of the Constitution.

Comrades attending the meeting unanimously held that this draft constitution summed up the wishes of the people throughout the country and was a more perfect one than the several previous constitutions. At the same time, they proposed concrete amendments and addenda to the revision. At the meeting, they all expressed the determination to care about production, become vanguards in the building of material civilization, concern themselves with the affairs of state, become pioneers in the building of spiritual civilization and, through studying and discussing the Revised Draft of the Constitution, raise their concept of the legal system, strengthen their sense of responsibility of becoming master's of their own affairs, and become models in abiding by the constitution and the law.

9335

CSO: 4005/1167

PARTY AND STATE

DRAFT CONSTITUTION REVIEWED IN HONG KONG

Consultative Conferences

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 23 Jul 82 p 4

[Article: "The Draft of the New Constitution Is More Concerned With the People Than Was the Old Constitution--Committee Members of the Provincial People's Congresses and the People's Political Consultative Conferences in Hong Kong Unanimously Agree"]

[Text] Committee members of the people's congresses and the political consultative conferences for the entire nation and certain provinces held in Hong Kong convened a seminar on the afternoon of 21 July to continue discussing the revised draft of the constitution. The nearly 100 representatives and committee members who attended were excited about the speech given by Committee Chairman Peng Zhenfu [1756 4176 1133] expressing how seriously they take the responsibility of their positions as masters of the nation, and how they value the wisdom and strength necessary to contribute to the prosperity of the motherland and to the early return of Taiwan to the motherland.

Li Zisong [2621 1311 6139], a committee member of the All China Political Consultative Conference, said that Peng Zhenfu's call for our Taiwan and Hong Kong compatriots and overseas Chinese to participate actively in the discussion of the revised draft of the constitution makes completely clear the nation's trust in and concern for them. He noted that Committee Chairman Peng Zhenfu specifically brought up Article 30 of the revised draft of the constitution which concerns the establishment of administrative areas, an article which is very important. The inclusion of this article in the constitution has given the force of law to the 9 point policy on the Taiwan problem raised last year by Committee Chairman Ye Jianying [5509 0494 5391], and this will be helpful in securing Taiwan's return and realizing the peaceful reunification of the motherland.

Huang Keli [7806 0344 4539], a committee member of the Fujian Provincial Political Consultative Conference, held copies of the old and the new constitutions in his hands while making his remarks. He said that, in order to gain a deeper understanding of the new constitution, he got out copies of

the three old constitutions in order to study them and make comparisons with the new one, and that he feels that the draft of the new constitution is more enlightened and progressive than any of the old ones. In particular, the new constitution contains more articles which meet the needs of our nation's modernization construction--for example, Article 12, which involves allowing foreign investment and various forms of economic cooperation, all of which are presently needed. Article 21 concerns the matter of training and developing the roles of intellectuals and is extremely important to our socialist construction. He also suggested that at the same time we construct a material civilization, we must pay attention to the construction of a spiritual civilization, something that would be beneficial in helping us overcome present crime in the economic sector and many other uncivilized and immoral phenomena.

Xu Simin [1776 0934 3046], a committee member of the All China Political Consultative Conference, Sun Chengceng [1327 1004 2582], a member of the standing committee of the Guangdong Provincial People's Congress and others spoke in succession at the meeting, offering some suggestions for revising articles in the new constitution.

Speaking last, Fei Yimin [6316 1744 3046], a member of the standing committee of the All China People's Congress, said that the opinions expressed during the discussions of the revised draft of the constitution carried out by the representatives of the people's congresses and the committee members of the political consultative conferences in Hong Kong have uniformly held that the draft of the new constitution is preferable to the old constitution and shows more concern for the people. He noted that Committee Chairman Peng Zhenfu indicated in his speech that, when drawing up the revised draft of the constitution, they "respected history, respected reality and looked to the future," and this says a lot. Looking to the future, the advantageous conditions are all on our side. Even though we commit errors of all kinds in our economic construction because of a lack of experience, we have 1 billion laboring people, the leadership of the party and leading groups that seek the truth from facts, and both positive and negative experiences to serve as object lessons. We continue to have great hopes.

Trade Union Federation

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 22 Jul 82 p 4

[Article: "Inclusion of the Nine Point Policy Toward Taiwan in the Constitution Will Be Advantageous to Our Cause of Unifying the Motherland--The Directors of the Standing Committee of the Chinese Federation of Trade Unions in Hong Kong Discussed the Revised Draft of the Constitution"]

[Text| On July 20, the directors of the standing committee of the Chinese Federation of Trade Unions in Hong Kong convened a forum, enthusiastically responding to the call of Committee Chairman Peng Zhenfu [1756 4176 1133] and displaying the value they place on their sacred rights, and actively

discussed the revised draft of the constitution, fostering their role as a bridge and making a strong contribution to the early reunification of the motherland.

Wang Kuancheng [3769 1401 6134] said that Peng Zhenfu's call for them to discuss the revised draft of the constitution made it clear that the motherland values opinions from all circles in Hong Kong. He said that the Chinese people love the motherland and favor and support the reunification of the motherland, but that there are those who worry that after Taiwan returns to the motherland, it will not be able to adjust to the mainland's social system. Now, the revised draft of the constitution has legalized the basic elements of the 9-point policy of Committee Chairman Ye Yianying [5509 0494 5391], that is that Taiwan's present society, economic system and lifestyle need not change, its economic and cultural relations with other nations need not change, and the ownership of private property, housing, land and enterprises and the legal rights of inheritance and foreign investments will not be infringed upon. This guarantees the private ownership interests of some and alleviates the worries of many, which is beneficial to the cause of uniting the motherland. We compatriots in Hong Kong and Macao love and care about the motherland and want to respond to the call of the motherland and to contribute our strength to the cause of reuniting the motherland.

Zhuang Shiping [5445 0013 1627] said that the new constitution meets the needs of the new historical period. Extending the democratic discussion of the revised draft of the constitution abroad and collecting a broader spectrum of people's opinions will give the new constitution a firmer foundation. He said that including the basic elements of Committee Chairman Ye's 9-point policy in the revised draft of the constitution, making it clear to the people and to the entire world, will give people greater confidence and will be of great benefit to the cause of reuniting the motherland.

Ma Bihun [7456 3880 7609] said that they looked forward passionately to the early reunification of the motherland, for only in this way can the motherland flourish and prosper. He said that now that the mainland had already included the policy of national reunification in the constitution, that he hoped there would be some movement on the Taiwan side.

Others, such as Jiang Shaoyan [3068 4801 3238], Huang Peiqiu [7806 0160 3808], Zhao Aihua [6392 7224 5478] and He Shizhu [0149 0013 2691] also spoke at the meeting.

9705

CSO: 4005/1097

PARTY AND STATE

DISCUSSION OF NEW DRAFT CONSTITUTION CALLED IMPORTANT MATTER

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 28 Jul 82 p 4

[Article by Liu Zizheng [0491 1311 2973], Deputy Chairman of the Standing Committee of the Provincial People's Congress and Chairman of the Commission on Legislative Affairs: "An Important Matter of Great Weight and Seriousness"]

[Text] The 23rd session of the Standing Committee of the NPC decided to promulgate the "Draft Revision of the PRC Constitution" and to submit it to the whole people of all nationalities for discussion and amendments. This is a major event in the political life of our people. The Standing Committee of the Provincial People's Congress has therefore passed a resolution on the conscientious study and discussion throughout the entire province of the draft constitution, calling on the people of the whole province to participate enthusiastically in the study and discussion of the draft revision of the constitution. At present the state organs at all levels, the people's organizations and the masses of all nationalities are devoting themselves to the study and discussion in an attitude of being masters of their own affairs and imbued with political enthusiasm.

The discussion of the draft constitution by the entire people is a concrete manifestation of the people being masters of their own affairs and of their directly administering the important affairs of the state. In our country the people are the masters of the state and the backbone of democracy. The constitution, which is the great fundamental law of the country, must be determined through a discussion directly participated in by the whole people. Only by having the people engage in a thorough discussion, on the basis of a high degree of democracy, can we achieve a high degree of centralism and have the constitution reflect accurately the conditions of the entire country and more effectively represent the will and aspirations of the people of the whole country. To fit the actual realities of the time, our country's first constitution had been drawn up in this manner. In 1954, the discussion by the whole people of the draft constitution was carried on for over 2 months, when 1,180,420 opinions on amending and supplementing the draft and other questions were put forward. An important reason why the practice of almost 30 years has proved it to have been a very good constitution was precisely that it had been submitted to a discussion by the whole people and thus had drawn on the collective wisdom and absorbed all useful ideas. At that time Comrade Mao Zedong in one of his speeches on the draft constitution pointed

out that one reason why this constitution gained the approval of the people was that in drafting the constitution the method of combining the ideas of the leadership organs with the ideas of the broad masses was employed. He also pointed out with emphasis that in future all important legislation should use the same method. If the Standing Committee of the NPC this time decided to allot 4 months to a discussion of the draft constitution by the whole people, it is to concentrate even one step further the wisdom and the demands of the masses, so as to arrive at an even more perfect constitution, and also to give the masses a lesson in how to administer the country and a practical lesson in exercising democratic rights, in order to strengthen the sense of responsibility among the masses of being masters of their own destiny and arouse the political enthusiasm of the masses to concern themselves with the important affairs of state.

The discussion of the draft constitution by the entire people is of the greatest immediate significance as an impetus to various reforms now in progress and as stimulating production and construction. Judging by the initial conditions of the discussions launched in our province, the draft revision, although not yet formally promulgated as our Constitution but in its fundamental spirit and fundamental content seen as fitting our national conditions and agreeable to the wishes of the people, has already received the ardent support of the masses and also become the strong driving force in mobilizing positive factors in various direction. In their discussion of the draft constitution, the masses of all the various trades and professions, linking these discussions with the realities, have universally responded: "The present draft constitution has gotten rid of the 'leftist' defects of the second and third constitution, has consolidated and developed the results of all the various reforms since the Third Plenary Session, stresses realities, has a farsighted view into the future, is realistic as well as scientific and suits the aspirations of the broad masses. The draft constitution amends the former method of designating the intellectuals as a class outside of the workers and peasants, but lists them as part of the workers and peasants, devoting one separate article to the nurturing and expanding of the contingent of our intellectuals. This has been a deepfelt inspiration to the masses of our intellectuals. Some professors said: "Since the party and the government attach so much importance to the intellectuals, we are determined to make further contributions by nurturing qualified men for the construction of the four modernizations." Some comrades in the broadcasting and cultural undertakings said: "This is the first time that the promotion of cultural, broadcasting and television undertakings is mentioned in the constitution. It demonstrates that the party and the government attach importance to the construction of a socialist spiritual civilization. We are determined to do a good job at our posts and make our humble contribution to the construction of the socialist spiritual civilization." The broad masses of cadres engaged in rural work have expressed in unison their support for the provisions laying down the important policies governing our national economic system and the development of our economy. They said: "After the institution of the responsibility system in the countryside, our peasants have initially gained some benefits from it, but have always been afraid that the policy may suddenly change one day, therefore always felt insecure about it. Now that it has been written into the constitution, the peasants

feel reassured and devote themselves to the development of production with new vigor." The discussion of the draft revision of the constitution is actually giving the whole people a one-time lesson in legislation and is also laying a foundation for the future implementation of the new constitution. The constitution is the basis for all other legislation and is the foundation for the strengthening of the socialist legal system. Discussion of the draft revision of the constitution is an important matter of extreme gravity and seriousness. After the constitution is formally enacted, we must be even more protective of its authoritative nature. For a long period of time under a nihilist influence in matters of law, particularly since the sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," the socialist legal system was trampled underfoot and the authoritative nature of the constitution was gravely impaired with the consequence that even a great number of cadres and people became indifferent toward the legal system and to a varying degree harbored the erroneous idea that it did not matter whether we had and whether we obeyed the constitution. Some thought it too cumbersome to transact affairs according to law; where laws existed they were not followed and the execution of the laws was not strict. In view of the lesson from our historical experiences, the draft revision of the constitution has made systematic provisions for the protection of the sanctity of the constitution and the legal system. The purpose of the present discussion of the draft constitution by the whole people is to give the whole people a one-time lesson in legislation and to establish a concept of firm observance and implementation of the law, so that after enactment of the new constitution, its implementation will be fully guaranteed and its highest legal authority safeguarded.

In short, the discussion of the draft revision of the constitution by the whole people is of the greatest practical significance and of farreaching historical significance. The leadership at all levels must regard this work as of the highest importance and place it among the important matters on their agendas, to be carried out urgently and effectively. The comrades in leadership positions should take the lead in participating in the study and discussions and set examples. They must earnestly train key personnel for the work of explaining and publicizing, effectively organize a contingent for the work of explaining and publicizing, fully bring into play the role of propaganda personnel and lecturers at all levels to ensure that the spirit and fundamental content of the draft revision of the constitution becomes known to every household and is understood by everyone. In the course of the discussions the role of democracy must be fully asserted, everyone shall speak out freely and everyone shall air his own views in order to have the discussion of the draft revision of the constitution proceed enthusiastically and in a sound way.

9808

CSO: 4005/1194

PARTY AND STATE

EMPHASIS ON TRAINING OF YOUNG, MIDDLE-AGED CADRES URGED

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 16 Jul 82 p 1

[Commentary: "Get a Hold On Training of Middle-aged and Young Cadres"]

[Text] With the passage of time, many of our older comrades have retreated from the first line of our work. Younger comrades are replacing them to carry on the proletarian cause for which they have long struggled. In the planned and orderly process of replacing the old cadres with the new cadres, we must understand that, after a long period of mistakes in our cadres education work, many of the young cadres, in the areas of political theory, specialization and cultural knowledge, are not up to the demands of socialist modernization construction. This presents us with the urgent task of providing regular, planned training for middle-aged and young cadres, raising their quality, improving their capabilities and seeing to it that they are better able to bear the historic responsibility of carrying on the cause. In order to train middle-aged and young cadres, the provincial party committee decided to select some of the best middle-aged and young cadres and send them to the provincial party committee school and other high level institutes of higher learning for systematic training--to study Marxist theory and various special subjects--and for the purpose of adopting actual procedures to realize the aforementioned strategic task.

Practice has proven that training middle-aged and young cadres, raising their theoretical understanding of Marxism and the levels of their understanding of science and culture and specialized knowledge plays an extremely important role in consolidating their belief in communism and in getting them to be firm in carrying out matters objectively, in correctly and thoroughly implementing the line, principles and policies of the party established since the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee and in consciously maintaining political unanimity with the Central Committee of the party. This can have a far-reaching influence on the development of our task of socialist modernization construction.

In wishing to do well in our work of training middle-aged and young cadres, every area must seriously implement plans. In wishing to be guided by Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, we must use the educational principle of accepting as the key the study of how to solve the problems in our nation's four modernizations construction, and make different

demands of cadres based on their different administrative levels, different industries, different cultural foundations and different levels of specialization, and educate each with a particular stress. We must emphasize quality and actual results. In practice, we must continually summarize our experiences and gradually improve our curriculums and teaching materials. In study, we must further strengthen our assessment of middle-aged and young cadres and use their performances and records during their periods of study as one of the important criteria in examining, promoting and utilizing them. If we can only carry on our work of training middle-aged and young cadres for a long period of time, making a system of it, then the quality of the broad middle-aged and young cadres will see great improvement and the continuation and development of our proletarian cause will truly be realistically and dependably guaranteed.

Establishing a standardized system of training for cadres was an important decision concerning the reform of the cadre system made by the Party Central Committee after it had eliminated the system of cadres lifetime tenure in leadership positions and implemented a cadre retirement system. Along with the launching of agency reform work, the task of training cadres will gain importance, its scale will increase and requirements will be raised. Party committees at every level must adapt to this new situation and use strategic vision to study and handle the various problem areas in cadre training, such as leadership strength, qualified teaching troops, basic construction, etc., and to make determinations early, prepare early, adopt measures and concretely implement them.

At last year's celebration of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the party, Comrade Hu Yaobang [5170 5069 6721], representing the Party Central Committee, offered hope to all comrades of the party, and especially to the younger comrades, and requested that all comrades of the party work hard and study assiduously. He profoundly pointed out: "How well we study will determine the level of our leadership and work and will directly influence the progress of our socialist modernization construction. Since we have already learned well how to destroy an old world, we certainly can learn well how to build a new world." Young comrades should understand the historic responsibility they shoulder today and make stricter demands of themselves, putting all their energy into study, unceasingly strengthening themselves, striving to master the ability to handle socialist modernization construction, making themselves into experts proficient in their work and living up to the ardent expectations of the party organizations.

9705

CSO: 4005/1261

PARTY AND STATE

INDIVIDUAL INTEREST, INDIVIDUALISM DISTINGUISHED

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 20 Jul 82 p 4

[Article by Xu Junhua [1667 0689 5478] and Wu Shangzhong [0702 1424 1813]:
"Individual Interest and Individualism"]

[Text] What is individual interest? What is individualism? These are questions which must be made clear when discussing the goals and the meaning of life.

During the period when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were running wild, in the name of "overcoming selfishness and fostering public spirit," they trampled on the interests of the masses. Behind the call for "fierce struggle against even a momentary thought of personal gain," they denied the proper interests of the individual and even criticized individual interest as being individualism. Their logical formula was: individual interest = for personal gain - individualism. And since individualism is the source of all evil, then individual interest is either "capitalist" or "revisionist." This "leftist" fallacy completely confuses the lines between right and wrong, creating great confusion in the minds of the people, seriously damaging the enthusiasm of the masses and doing tremendous damage to the revolutionary cause. After the "gang of four" fell from power, some comrades tended toward the other extreme. At the same time that they rejected the "leftist" fallacies of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques, they rejected the spirit of "selfless common good"; at the same time that they affirmed individual interest, they affirmed individualism. The result has been to create confusion in the minds of some, both deliberately and unintentionally taking the notion that "Heaven strikes down those who do not help themselves" to be their creed of life. And a very small number of persons in which individualism has grown perversely have taken the road of crime. Because of this, correctly distinguishing between individual interest and individualism has tremendous significance in terms of establishing a correct attitude toward life.

To reject individual interest by equating it with individualism is to fail to make a clear distinction ideologically between the two meanings of "self." One meaning of "self" is related to the sense of individual selfishness and extreme selfishness, opposite to selflessness; the other

meaning it related to group interest as relative to collective interest and national interest. In terms of two different ideological systems, selfless common good and selfishness and self gain are always basically in opposition. But, under conditions of socialism, the individual interests of the laboring masses and the national interest are basically the same. If we equate individual interest with individualism, then in practice we ignore this most basic fact: without food, clothing and shelter--the basic needs of the people--people cannot survive, and we cannot speak of social development. Accordingly, individual interests are proper conditions of life for people, but this cannot be confused with individualism.

The attitudes of Marxists toward individualism has persistently been one of opposition, but this in no way implies any neglect or rejection of individual interest. Only Marxism can bring to light the true nature of the relations between the people's interests, showing that individual interest is determined by the economic position of the individual. In the old society, the means of production were held by the landlords and the capitalists, and the laboring masses were in exploited, servile positions with no guarantee of even the most basic needs of life. We communists led the people in revolution in order to change these relations of ownership, making the laboring people the masters of the means of production and guaranteeing that the individual interests of the laborers can always be satisfied. It is just this principle that has consistently led our party to instruct cadres to be concerned at all times with the immediate interests of the masses, and, on the foundation of developing production, to improve gradually the lives of the masses. Especially since the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee, our party has more clearly satisfied the continually growing material and cultural needs of society and the masses, which is the goal of socialist production. Further we have implemented the policy of giving due consideration to national, collective and individual interests, carried out the principle of distribution according to work and hastened the healthy development of industrial and agricultural production.

Of course, our admission of the reasonable existence of individual interest does not imply an affirmation of individualism. Individualism is the core of exploiting class morality and is incompatible with the ideological system of the proletariat, and has no place in socialist society. Today, individualism is a legacy of the ideology of the old society, and it retains a certain social base in our society. In particular, under the conditions of opening our society to the outside world and stimulating our domestic economy, it is very easy for individualist ideology to combine with decadent bourgeois ideology coming from outside the country to become a dangerous corrupting agent. Because individualism is always expressed in the guise of dealing with how to handle individual interests and often wraps itself in the legal appearance of protecting "individual interest," when struggling against it, we must correctly distinguish the two. What are the major distinctions between them? (1) Their means of meeting individual interests are different. Marxists believe that labor creates the world and proper individual interests can only be met through one's own diligent labor, upholding the fruits of one's own labor; individualists believe that one

need not concern oneself with the method or means as long as one can satisfy one's individual interest, even in going so far as to benefit oneself by harming others, damaging the common good for personal gain, engaging in speculation and fraud and graft and embezzlement, and scheming to gain without laboring and to make an unrighteous fortune. (2) The point of departure in striving to secure interests is different. Marxists begin with the collective interest of the proletariat and laboring masses in mind, dissolving individual interest into the collective interest; individualists start with individual interest in everything, basing their decisions in all matters on whether or not their actions will benefit them. (3) The position occupied by individual interest is different: Marxists place individual interest in the position of serving the interests of the state and the collective. When a temporary contradiction arises between individual interest and state or collective interest, they prefer to sacrifice individual interest and uphold the other. Individualists place individual interest above all else, first in relation to all other interests, even if it means doing harm to state or collective interests. (4) The attitude in dealing with individual interest is different: Marxists combine the realization of individual interest with the fostering of the spirit of "selfless common good" and unite the socialist principle of "distribution according to work and the communist style of making numerous contributions without regard for remuneration into an effort to work selflessly for the good of the whole. Individualists take the realization of individual interest and the spirit of "selfless common good" to be antagonistic and distort the principle of "distribution according to work" into an employment principle of "working according to the remuneration," no work without profit, contend for what is profitable, etc.

Only by drawing clear lines between individual interest and individualism can we resist the various forms of bourgeois egoist ideology and maintain the purity of the communist ideological system; only in this way can we establish a revolutionary view of life and properly place individual interest in relation to the entire revolutionary cause.

Let's remember the words of Ostrovsky: "Egoists are the first destroyed. They are concerned with and live only for themselves. If you remove the 'self' from their lives, they have no reason to go on living. Before them lies the dark night which must arrive when egoism is destroyed. But once a person stops living for himself, when he is involved with a social cause, then it becomes very difficult to smother him, because if you wish to do so you must smother all that surrounds him, smother the entire society, smother all life."

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PARTY AND STATE

PARTY PRINCIPLE OF DEVOTION TO PEOPLE'S INTERESTS REAFFIRMED

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 23 Jul 82 p 3

[Article by Lu Zhi [7627 1807]: "Party Members Must Remember That Their Goal Is To Serve the People Wholeheartedly"]

[Text] Serving the people wholeheartedly is the fundamental objective of our party and an important principle of party character for which every Communist Party member must stand. Only by firmly bearing in mind this objective can Communist Party members, under the new historical condition, bring into full play their role as vanguards and models in developing the four modernizations program.

In their "Communist Manifesto," Marx and Engels pointed out: "All previous historical movements were movements of minorities, or in the interest of minorities. The proletarian movement is the independent movement of the immense majority, in the interest of the immense majority." Comrade Mao Zedong also said: "These troops of ours are wholly dedicated to the liberation of the people, and work entirely in their interest." By placing wholehearted service to the people as its objective, our party has stood out in sharp contrast to political parties of other classes. The more than 60-year history of the party identifies its commitment to the principle of serving the people wholeheartedly as the essential factor that has made our party grow in strength and advance from one victory to another. At present, our country is ushering in a new historical period for the development of socialist modernization. Under such new circumstances, it appears more important than ever for Communist Party members to remember this objective of the party and to further foster the idea of serving the people wholeheartedly. The reasons are as follows: First, the socialist modernization program led by our party is a matter of concern to the masses of people themselves. To fulfill this difficult task not only calls for realistic efforts to formulate the line, principles and policies which conform to the Chinese conditions and which fully reflect the fundamental interests of the people, but also requires all Communist Party members to take practical action to serve the people wholeheartedly and to lead them in implementing the party's line, principles and policies. Second, after nationwide victory, the harsh environment of war and underground work in which our party engaged gave way to the peaceful environment of reconstruction, and its

status of being subjected to oppression and massacre gave way to the status of the nation's ruling party. This change in objective environment and status provides a more solid basis and reliable condition for our party to serve the people. However, if this change were not correctly directed, a mood of arrogance and complacency might easily grow among party members, along with the desire to enjoy comforts, obsession with a bureaucratic style of work and special privileges, and other unhealthy tendencies of alienating the masses from the party. Particularly noteworthy is the fact that such tendencies affecting our party became more striking than ever under the destructive impact of the 10-year civil strife. This is why Communist Party members must strive to raise their awareness of the need to serve the people as a guarantee for the successful implementation of the four modernizations program and for the preservation of the genuine quality of communism.

Since the smashing of the "gang of four" and after undergoing thorough ideological education, the vast majority of comrades have proved themselves able to live up to the strict requirements for "serving the people wholeheartedly," and have scored remarkable success in work. But we must also realize that for a period of time, under the impact of the capitalist ideology and remnant feudal ideas, some comrades have intentionally or unintentionally lowered the quality of services to the people. Although some have professed to "serve the people wholeheartedly," in reality, they want to serve the people only halfheartedly or reluctantly. The manifestations of this behavior are mainly as follows:

First, they have made the mistake of placing themselves above the masses of people. Our party has consistently maintained that the masses of people are masters of their own country, constituting the true driving force for pushing the wheel of history forward. To organize and support them in fulfilling this role and building a new life under socialism is the very essence of the party's leadership over affairs of state. Communist Party members, whatever their rank, are the servants of the people; they have obligations to serve the people wholeheartedly but no right to seek private gain. Particularly at a time when our party is in the ruling position, many comrades who are in leading positions and who have control over some of the power of the party and state must now more consciously put themselves under the supervision of the masses and do a good job as public servants. But some comrades have turned this relationship upside down. Instead of willingly working as public servants and placing themselves in the service of the people, they have become obsessed with the privilege of being officials and overlords, persuading the masses to serve their interests. For example, some comrades have been acting irresponsibly, passing the buck like "volleyballs" and "footballs," and practicing a dilatory style of work. In the course of getting a job done, what is foremost in their minds is things such as "position, money, housing, and children," thus leaving no room for them to pay any attention to the plight of the masses. Some have openly exploited public office to enhance their private interests and have tried to fatten their own pockets at the expense of the public interest or attain personal ends in the name of official duties. Some have even been found guilty of engaging in smuggling and embezzlement and practicing bribery. Do these persons deserve to be called wholehearted devotees to the people's

interests? This behavior has drawn protests from the broad masses of people. If this trend is not thoroughly reversed and is allowed to develop, it is certain that the people will demand that they be stripped of the power delegated to them and will hold them liable for punishment in accordance with the provisions of party discipline and state laws.

Second, they often do things with strings attached and bargain with the party and people for prices for their services. Communist Party members are the most advanced and politically conscious individuals among the members of the working class. Whatever they do and wherever they go, they must always put the interests of the party and state or the people above their own interests. In the event of conflict between the two categories of interests, they must resolutely and unconditionally uphold the interests of the party and people. This is not only a correct principle guiding the speeches and actions of Communist Party members but also a noble quality each of them must have. But some comrades whose services to the people are contingent on certain conditions have failed to follow this approach. For example, some want only to be promoted rather than demoted; some prefer to be assigned to places where working conditions are favorable rather than hardship posts. If their wishes are ignored, they will complain and make absurd statements outlining numerous "reasons" for refusing to obey their organizations' decisions. Viewing others with snobbish eyes, some have become obsessed with the "science of public relations," which teaches them to give a warm reception to those useful to them and cold treatment to others useless to them. Some have openly declared that "money talks," and have been found to be penny wise and pound foolish when they tried to bargain with the party and people for prices for their services. To them, more pay means more work, less pay means less work and no pay means no work. To these comrades, serving the people means serving themselves, or a small number of people, or rendering services for "money." This conduct runs counter to the party's long-held principle of serving the people wholeheartedly. It would be very dangerous if it were allowed to develop.

Third, their service attitude has become erratic due to their failure to instill in their minds the idea of serving the people for the rest of their lives. For example, before joining the party, some comrades showered warmth upon the people, giving them active services. But this was changed after they joined the party. Although some comrades survived the war as heroes, they have proved themselves unable to resist attacks with sugarcoated bullets, and have ever since been defeated. Although some comrades were warmly dedicated to the people's cause when they were young, they became tired of work, and were in a mood to take days off for relaxation, after they were married, had children and were in their advancing years. Although some comrades were in high spirits when they were enjoying smooth sailing, they became depressed once they encountered difficulties. Efforts must be made to overcome this way of thinking and conduct which do not conform to the principles of the party. The life of every Communist Party member is a life devoted to serving the people. Comrade Mao Zedong once said that although it is not difficult for anyone to do good things for a specific period of time, it is very difficult for him to do good things and no bad

things for the rest of his life. Communist Party members must be true to the oath they took on the day of their admission to the party by devoting the rest of their lives to serving the people. As long as they live, they should continue to fight and work hard until their dying day. Whatever difficulties they encounter, they should never stop reaffirming their firm faith in serving the people.

At the meeting in celebration of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the PRC, Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out: "Serving the people in essence means that our party must rally the masses around it, and by virtue of its correct guidelines and policies, its close ties with the masses, its members' exemplary role, and its propaganda and organizational work, help them to see where their fundamental interests lie and to unite in striving for them." This statement clearly tells us that our main aim in serving the people is to rally the broad masses of people closely around the party Central Committee, and to make them work with one heart and one mind to enhance the development of socialist modernization. For this reason, each of our Communist Party members should spare no effort to convey to the public, promptly and enthusiastically, the vital significance of the socialist modernization program, and the party's principles and policies adopted since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. The aim is to help the broad masses foster firm faith in the final victory of the four modernizations program. Meanwhile, the party member must play an exemplary role in all fields of work, act as a vanguard in studying politics, in acquiring professional knowledge and modern science and technology, and in fostering the communist labor attitude so that he can proceed to sharpen his skills in serving the people and do his own job outstandingly well. While taking the lead in building a high-level material civilization, we must vie to become vanguards in building a high-level spiritual civilization. Only by acting consciously in conformity with the communist ideological system can we preserve the genuine quality of communism, resist the corrosive influence of bourgeois ideology, truly and selflessly "devote ourselves to serving others," dare to uphold the truth in the people's interest, boldly and resolutely struggle against misdeeds against the people's interests, and lead the masses to strive to build a socialist modern power.

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PARTY AND STATE

ADHERENCE TO COMMUNIST IDEOLOGICAL PRINCIPLES ADVOCATED

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 15 Jul 82 p 3

[Article by Meng Xiancun [1322 3759 2625]: "Adhere to the Ideological Principles of Communism"]

[Text] Communism is the ideological system and advanced social system of the proletarian class. It is the noble ideal of communist party members and our ideological weapon for observing and dealing with problems. Bringing about communism is the ultimate goal of our party's struggle. Using communism as our guide guarantees the certain victory of our cause. Maintaining noble communist ideology and adhering to the ideological principles of communism; at all times and in all places propagandizing communism among the popular masses; and criticizing decadent capitalist ideology are duties of all communist party members.

However, some people think that to carry out communist ideology and moral education in the present stage is to "transcend the historical stage," that there is a contradiction between adhering to the principles of communist ideology and the socialist policies now in effect, and that the communist moral education now being carried out exceeds the people's level of consciousness and is separated from practice. Are those arguments tenable? Absolutely not.

In the socialist stage, is propagandizing communist ideology "transcending the historical stage?" No. We know that the emergence and propagation of the communist ideological system is not restricted to a communist society. It emerged in the period of capitalist ascendancy and was propagated all over the world. The international communist movement has continually developed under the guidance of the communist ideological system. That movement has passed through different stages of development in each country, but each of its stages is part of the communist movement and communism is its guiding ideology and ultimate goal. At an early date Marx and Engels pointed out that "In all developmental stages the struggle between the proletarian class and the bourgeois class passes through, communist party members always represent the interests of the entire movement." "Communist party members struggle for the most immediate goals and interests, but in the present movement also represent the future movement." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," pp 264, 294.) While still in the period of capitalist ascendancy

and under the conditions of the number of communists still being very small, Marx and Engels raised their arms and shouted, and wanted to smash the old world of capitalism and build the new world of communism. Is it that at that time in capitalist western Europe propagating communism was a requirement of the era, but at present, in China's socialist society, propagating communism is "transcending the historical stage?" Of course, our country's society is not yet communist, but is socialist. However, propagating communist ideology, bring into play the communist spirit, and developing the communist factors are also developmental requirements of the socialist system. If there is a failure to develop the communist factors it will be even more difficult to consolidate socialism, and it will also not be possible to develop to the highest stage: communism. In brief, for more than 100 years the propagation and development of communist ideology have everywhere given impetus to the advance of the revolutionary cause of the proletarian class. There has never been a question of "transcending the historical stage." In the past we depended on communist ideology to achieve the great victories of the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution. Henceforth, we will increasingly strengthen and expand the study and propagation of communist ideology, in order to give impetus to the development of socialist modernization.

Is there a contradiction between adhering to the principles of communist ideology and implementing socialist policies? No. There are both differences and similarities between communism and socialist policies, and they are mutually complementary. Adhering to communist ideology cannot harm the socialist policies now in effect. On the contrary, it has ensured the correct formulation and implementation of the socialist policies. We know that in the socialist period the party's policies arise from the economic, political, and cultural conditions of socialism, and are also formulated under the guidance of communist ideology. They are the product of combining the communist ideological principles and the reality of socialism. Of course, there can be no correct policies if they are divorced from socialist reality. Similarly, they are no longer socialist policies if they are divorced from the communist guiding ideology. At the same time, adherence to the principles of communist ideology is also totally understandable and ensures the correct implementation of the Party's policies. For example, in implementing the policy of distribution according to labor, only under the guidance of communist ideology can it be understood that distribution according to labor is a socialist principle that must be implemented under the conditions of the level of production forces not yet being sufficiently developed, the products of society not yet being plentiful, and the people's consciousness not yet being sufficiently high, and only then is it possible to grasp its spirit and essence. Only with a spirit of communism toward labor and distribution can we achieve the principle of "from each according to his ability" and fully bring into play the positive nature of labor. Only then is it possible to correctly deal with the relationship among the three interest--of the nation the collective, and the individual--and correctly deal with long-range interests and short-range interests and the relationship between accumulation and consumption, and carry out distribution according to labor. Conversely, if the people are not permeated by communist ideology and have a hired-hand attitude of "labor according to payment" or use the haggling-over-every-ounce-

and-tael thinking of Xia Luoke [1115 3157 0344] to deal with labor and distribution, it is impossible to get from each according to his ability or to attain true distribution according to work. Of course, there are differences between communist ideological principles and the socialist policies now in effect. We advocate the communist labor attitude of not calculating compensation. But we do not require the immediate implementation of the communist system of distribution according to need. Furthermore, distribution according to need cannot be realized in the present stage.

Under the conditions of socialism, is carrying out communist moral education alien to practice? It should be realized that until now "morality has always been class morality." In each of the different kinds of society the morality that occupies the dominant position is always the morality of that society's dominant class. Under the conditions of socialism, in a country in which the proletarian class exercises a dictatorship, is it that it is not necessary to carry out socialist moral education, but it is necessary to carry out the moral education of the bourgeois class or the petty bourgeois class? Is it that it is not necessary to use the spirit of "being absolutely selfless and thinking only of others" and going all-out to serve the people, and the principles of collectivism, to educate the people, but it is necessary to use such decadent thoughts as "unless man looks out for himself, Heaven and Earth will destroy him," and "be subjective toward one's self, objective toward the people" to poison the people? Some people say that they do not agree with the carrying out of communist ideology and moral education, and that they do not want the implementation of capitalist ideology and morality, but say that in the present stage it is only possible to educate the people in socialist morality. But what are the moral principles of a socialist society? As stated above, under the conditions of socialism the principles of socialist morality must be proletarian morality, which is communist morality. Only by educating people in communist ideology and morality can we help them gradually eliminate all kinds of nonproletarian thoughts from their minds and resist the corrosive inroads of capitalist ideology and the vestiges of feudalism ideology. Only by educating people in communist morality can we guide them in correctly dealing with the relations among individuals and between individuals and collective society, and consolidate and develop the socialist economic-political system. Of course, in carrying out communist moral education we cannot disregard the actual social conditions and the people's moral standard, and rigidly apply communist moral principles from the requirements of the people's words and deeds, but must, under the guidance of communist moral principles, gradually raise the people's moral standard and gradually develop it into a tendency toward communist morality.

Doubtless, we must at present recognize the differences between the communist social system and the current socialist stage, the differences between the communist guiding ideology and the socialist policies now in effect, and the differences between communist moral principles and the people's present moral standard. But the reason why we must pay attention to those differences is to further successfully promote the communist cause. As communist party members who are vanguard elements of the proletarian class, no matter when

or where we must hold high the banner of communism and adhere to communist ideological principles. We cannot waver in our conviction or lower our principles. It is a mistake to make criticism of "ultra-leftism" a pretext for criticizing communism, or to reject the expounding of communist principles on the pretext of conditions not being ripe.

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PARTY AND STATE

OBJECTIVES OF IDEOLOGICAL, POLITICAL WORK DEFINED

Beijing BAN YUE TAN [SEMIMONTHLY TALKS] in Chinese No 13, 10 Jul 82 pp 3-5

[Article by BAN YUE TAN commentator: "The Basic Mission of Ideological and Political Work"]

[Text] What is the definition of our party's ideological and political work? What are its basic objectives and mission? When we raise such questions at this time, some comrades may respond by saying: Do these questions which are well known to everyone need to be discussed? Contrary to what is expected, many of our comrades still really do not clearly understand and even harbor some muddle-headed ideas on these problems. Therefore, a further clarification of such ideas is absolutely necessary.

Some comrades contend that ideological and political work means doing a good job of organizing people to study documents. Some have viewed it as an effort to commend good personality and good deeds, and to sum up, publicize and promote advanced experiences. Some comrades said that ideological and political work means launching criticism and self-criticism. Others said that ideological and political work means devoting attention to enhancing the well-being of the masses and serving their interests. Although these interpretations have their merits, and tasks named above are duties discharged by the ideological and political work departments, they seldom touch the very essence of our ideological and political work. Nor do they in any way reflect the basic objectives and mission of our ideological and political work.

Fundamentally, our party's ideological and political work is aimed at clarifying problems concerning some people's ideological viewpoint and political stand and mobilizing the broad masses of cadres and people to strive for the realization of the short-term and long-term objectives of the revolution. The basic objectives and mission of our ideological and political work are to educate cadres and the masses or the entire working class and the nation as a whole in revolutionary ideology and spirit, communist ideals, and basic Marxist theories, and to inspire people to increase their revolutionary consciousness and ability to know and remold the objective world through repeated practice.

Comrade Mao Zedong once pointed out: "The struggle of the proletariat and the revolutionary people to change the world comprises the fulfillment of the

following tasks: To change the objective world as well as their subjective world--to increase their cognitive ability and change the relations between the subjective and the objective world." ("On Practice") As vanguards of the proletariat, we communists not only must play an exemplary role in all fields of work and strive to fulfill the task of changing the objective and the subjective world, but also we must inspire and guide the broad masses of people to join us in realizing this task through the execution of ideological and political work. Our party's ideological and political work tolerates no departure from this basic task and mission to know and change the objective world. It is suggested that our comrades should not allow certain specific approaches to our ideological and political work to take the place of its basic aim and mission or present the former in a way that is indistinguishable from the latter. Although the specific content, form and method of ideological and political work can be presented in many different ways, we must always remember that its fundamental aim and mission will remain unchanged.

To inspire people to increase their revolutionary consciousness and ability to know and change the objective world is a task that calls for prolonged practice and persistent efforts by comrades on the staff of ideological and political work departments. We must realize that man's mind is often occupied by a variety of ideologies. Among them are communist, noncommunist, proletarian, capitalist, remnant feudal, and petit bourgeois ideologies. A variety of noncommunist ideologies has prevented us from changing the objective world as well as our subjective world. Our revolution and the motherland's four modernizations program will not triumph if such unhealthy ideologies are not removed from our minds. They can be removed only through the implementation of our ideological and political work. This is another form of large-scale movement toward health on the ideological front. To bring it to a successful conclusion calls for a joint effort by all concerned to eliminate these unhealthy ideologies on a daily basis.

In the course of practice in revolution and construction, people may frequently think and act in a wrong way. For example, they may unnecessarily react to certain activities, or act timidly, or slide backward. This can be corrected only through ideological education. At present, we must devote special attention to eliminating the pernicious "leftist" influence on a continuing basis. At the same time, we must face up to the bourgeois liberalization tendency with a serious and conscientious attitude, and devote attention to eliminating the vestiges of feudal ideas. Only through practice can man constantly deepen his knowledge and increase his ability to change the world.

We must convey to cadres and the masses by means of education the party's theses on revolution and construction, its political line and policies, its goal of struggle, related principles and methods, in order to increase their revolutionary consciousness and cognitive ability. We must make constant efforts to educate cadres and the masses in "four allegiances" and "three considerations", and to instill in their minds the revolutionary philosophy of life so that they can strengthen their sense of responsibility as masters of their own country. We must encourage them to love their motherland,

fellow countrymen, manual labor, science, socialism and treat them as common virtues. We must give them education in patriotism, collectivism, internationalism, and communist ideology and morality. We must build a socialist spiritual civilization, resist the influences of capitalist ideology and remnant feudal ideas, and stimulate the enthusiasm of the broad masses of people for displaying an indomitable spirit and fighting will to change the world as a guarantee for success in fulfilling the mission in revolution and construction.

The successful implementation of ideological and political work should be regarded as a very difficult but glorious task. However, today, many comrades have shown contempt or no respect for this work. One opinion holds that the ideological and political work is no longer as important as it was, since our party and state shifted the emphasis of their work to the modernization program centering on the development of the economy. Another opinion contends that since the production responsibility system was adopted by factories and rural communes, people no longer need to grasp the ideological and political work. Some even allege that "lip-service, however vigorously rendered, can in no way save the state money," and "cadres are no longer needed since the two categories of contracts can be awarded directly to individual households." Such allegations are apparently wrong. Comrade Mao Zedong once said that political work is a guarantee for the implementation of economic work. By inference, ideological and political work is a guarantee for the implementation of all other work. Every unit, whatever it does, must keep in mind the ideological and political work and must give first place to this work. Propaganda and political work departments should spare no effort to sum up experiences in ideological and political work carried out under this new historical condition. In the course of doing ideological and political work, they must pay attention to the well-being of the masses and help them solve practical problems as a new contribution to the building of the two civilizations.

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PARTY AND STATE

SEPARATION OF GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION FROM COMMUNE MANAGEMENT URGED

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 28 Jul 82 p 4

[Article by Wu Dunquan [0702 2415 3123]: "Why Keep Government and Commune Separated?"]

[Text] The present draft revision of the constitution restores the provision of the 1954 Constitution about the establishment of people's representative assemblies and people's governments in the villages and townships. This provision shows that our rural areas will change from a system of unity of government and commune administrations to a system of separating government administration from commune management.

The separation of government administration from commune management means, expressed in simple terms, that the commune will in future be only an organization of the rural collective economy and not carry out any further concurrent political functions, and that the people's representative assemblies and people's governments in the villages will in future be responsible to carry out and administer all political work. This is a major reform in our rural organizational system. As the needs of the future development of the collective economy in our rural areas and of the buildup of political power were given careful consideration by the party and the state, this reform has become imperative.

First of all, the separation of government administration from commune management will be extremely beneficial for the buildup and consolidation of political power at the grassroots level. This political power at the grassroots level in our rural areas is an important component of our people's democratic regime, it is the first-level organization of political power of the state to exercise guidance of the rural areas. The consolidation of this political power at the grassroots directly affects the stability of our people's democratic regime. However, the system of combining government and commune administration, as currently practiced in our rural areas, is a "two combined into one." Judging from our 20 years of experience, this method of forcibly throwing together the government administrative organization and the economic organization has been detrimental to the buildup and consolidation of political power at the grassroots, because the government administrative organization and the economic organization differ in their sphere of work and in their functions; they also differ in the methods of their administration. If both

are combined into one entity, it may happen that in case the commune leadership mainly concentrates on economic work, it may weaken or slacken in its political work. Similarly, if the commune leadership mainly concentrates on political work, this may affect adversely the management of its economic affairs. As a result, the government administrative side will not be properly built up and the business affairs will not prosper. At present, in a small number of rural areas, there is nobody at all attending to certain tasks of the government administration, and this is a great inconvenience for the masses. It is a consequence of the current system of combining government administration with commune management. It is for this reason that the draft constitution stipulates the establishment of village and township people's representative assemblies and people's governments in the rural areas and separates administration from commune management. In this way the people's governments in the villages and townships can concentrate their strength on such governmental tasks as security, the people's militia, civil administration, judicial administration, administration of industry and commerce, communications, postal and telegraph service, afforestation and protection of forests, water conservancy and electric power administration, cultural and educational affairs, public health, family planning, etc. This will help strengthening the buildup of political power at the grassroots, it will also be beneficial for stronger ties between the political power and the masses at the primary level and for the implementation of the various policies, laws and decrees of the state.

Next, the separation of government administration from commune management will also benefit the development of the collective economy in our rural areas. Management of economic affairs by economic methods and giving full play to the functions of the economic organization has already become an urgent demand of the broad masses of commune members, while the combination of government and commune administrations into one entity, objectively led to the use of purely administrative measures in management and deprived the economic organizations of their deserved right of self-determination and the internal initiative for economic activities. If in the past certain rural areas made the mistakes of "arbitrary uniformity" and "arbitrary and impracticable directions," this was, organizationally viewed, inseparably linked with the combination of government and commune administrations and the excessive centralization of the powers of the people's communes. The separation of the government administration from the commune management will therefore even more effectively facilitate the development of their own economy by the people's communes themselves according to the laws of economics. Of course, the separation of the government administration from the commune management is an extremely complex affair, as it is a major reform that affects the political and economic life of 800 million peasants. It has to be carried out under proper leadership, after appropriate preparations, in a planned way and in an orderly manner. To ensure that this work will proceed smoothly, the various localities must follow the directives of the CCP Central Committee and of the State Council and for the present, and for 1 to 2 years after the enactment of the constitution, generally maintain the current system. They shall continue to perfect the various forms of the responsibility system and consolidate the various organizations at the base level in

accordance with the "Summary of the National Conference on Work in the Rural Areas." Under no circumstances shall rash action be taken or reforms instituted hastily. In order to avoid throwing production into confusion and creating unnecessary losses, it will also be necessary to make clear announcements to all cadres and members of the communes and brigades that the present commune and brigade enterprises will still be directed and managed by the communes and brigades, and that even after the future separation of government administration from commune management, the commune-run, brigade-run or production team-run enterprises (including those operated jointly by communes and brigades) and all their property will remain with the commune, brigade or production team, and that there will be no change in this due to the separation of the government administration from the commune management.

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CSO: 4C05/1194

PARTY AND STATE

WELCOME PARTY CONGRESS WITH PRACTICAL ACTIONS STRESSED

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 8 Aug 82 p 1

[Editorial: "Exert Ourselves in Full Confidence--Welcome the 12th Party Congress with Practical Actions"]

[Text] The 7th Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee has decided to convene the 12th National Congress of the CPC on 1 September this year. The good tidings has greatly heartened Shanghai's broad party members, cadres and masses, and everyone eagerly awaits the successful convention of the congress!

From the party's 11th National Congress to date, our party has traversed a glorious yet arduous course. The historically significant 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee achieved a great turn in the party's history since the founding of the nation. From the Third Plenary Session to the Sixth, the party completed the historical task of bringing order out of chaos in the guiding ideology, restated and established the Marxist ideological, political and organizational lines and, summarizing the positive and negative experiences since the founding of the nation, formulated and introduced a series of correct principles and policies and found a path for the socialist modernization construction compatible with China's national conditions, enabling all our socialist endeavors to get on the right track. The rapid development of the situation and tremendous transformation of the fatherland in a few short years have irrefutably demonstrated the accuracy of the party's lines, principles and policies since the Third Plenary Session, of the Party Central Committee's adherence to the four basic principles and of its proposal of the four political guarantees for the socialist modernization construction, fully indicating that our party, with its firm leadership, will rally and lead the people of the whole country to create a brand-new work situation.

The coming 12th National Party Congress will be a congress of a momentous significance in an extremely crucial historical period. It will, under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, summarize experiences, formulate our party's struggle program and goal for the future,

pass a new party constitution, elect the leadership organ of the Central Committee, rally the entire party, entire army and entire people more closely around the Central Committee, reinforce party building, further promote the socialist modernization construction and write a bright new chapter in the new historical period.

Welcoming the 12th Party Congress with practical actions is the common determination of the broad cadres and masses on all fronts in the city. Let us act promptly and, on all fronts and at each and every post, welcome the congress with outstanding achievements in building a socialist material and spiritual civilization! We must enhance our revolutionary spirit and, in conjunction with the various items of work now underway, further learn the spirit of the party's documents since the Third Plenary Session; we must, among the broad cadres and masses, especially the young people, conduct the ideological education of "three loves;" we must value every minute and every second, strive to complete, and complete above norm, the state plans for this year and seek greater economic benefits; we must spread and intensify the "five stresses and four points of beauty" movement, strengthen the communist ideological and ethical education and train a new generation of idealistic, ethical, cultured and disciplined new persons; we must firmly combat the corrosion of the capitalist ideology, wage the struggle against the serious criminal activities in the economic realm to the final end and win new victories.

Our country has truly entered a period of resurgence. Looking forward to the future, we are filled with hope and confidence. Let us, each at his own post, work solidly and diligently and make even more outstanding achievements!

6080

CSO: 4005/1258

PARTY AND STATE

BASIC LEVEL PARTY UNITS MUST STRESS IDEOLOGICAL WORK

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 22 Jul 82 p 3

[Article by staff commentator: "Basic Level Party Organizations Must Be Skillful in Ideological-Political Work"]

[Text] The Fupai brigade party branch performed vivid and lively socialist education on the peasants and produced favorable results. Its good style of paying serious attention to the party's ideological-political work deserves commendation and development.

Ideological-political work is an important component of the party's work. That our party could lead and rally the masses in great struggles was because of its entire set of superior traditions in ideological-political work. In the arduous war years, the party educated the membership masses with the revolutionary ideology, enlightened their revolutionary awareness, defeated the powerful enemy and seized national victory. After liberation, it relied on ideological-political work to stimulate and encourage the people's revolutionary enthusiasm in building socialism and overcoming the successive difficulties on the road of progress. Obviously, ideological-political work is the link to rally and educate the cadre masses and the talisman to win victories in revolution and construction. Today, under the new historical conditions, on the journey toward the goal of the four modernizations, the party's ideological-political work can only be strengthened, not weakened.

As everyone knows, our country is at a great historical turning point. Under this new situation, many new conditions, new problems and new contradictions are bound to emerge and lead to all kinds of reflections in people's thinking. The thinking of some comrades, for instance, fails to keep pace with the situation, finding "the old methods useless, the new methods nonexistent and the native methods unworkable," not knowing how to proceed on the new Long March and feeling pessimistic and apprehensive. Others fail to have an adequate understanding of certain principles and policies adopted by the party in the new era, often feeling doubtful and becoming hesitant and uncertain when implementing them. Meanwhile, due to the corrosion of various incorrect trends and the capitalist ideology

in society, words and deeds in violation of the four basic principles and serious criminal activities in the economic realm are inevitably found among some party members. Thus, our party organizations of all levels must perform the party's ideological-political work more actively and successfully. The view that, "with the expansion of the role of economic means, ideological-political work may be slackened, or even abolished" is obviously extremely wrong and harmful.

What must also be pointed out here is that the basic task of the party's ideological-political work is to enlighten and improve people's revolutionary awareness and lead them to believe in communism and struggle for it. People's minds are filled with all kinds of things, including communist, capitalist and remnant feudal ideologies, not to mention the petit bourgeois mentality. To carry out the socialist four modernization construction, we must, by means of ideological-political work, develop the communist ideology and overcome all kinds of incorrect ideologies, for otherwise, we will not succeed.

Since ideological-political work is so formidable, our party's basic level organizations naturally must place it in the foremost position. The basic level party organizations occupy the front line of the production struggle and serve as the cores and fighting fortresses of their particular units and as the bridges directly linking the party and the masses. Therefore, each and every basic level party organization must, like the Fupai brigade party branch, pay serious attention to ideological-political work and be skillful in its performance.

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CSO: 4005/1259

PARTY AND STATE

ADHERENCE TO THEORETICAL FRONT OF PARTY'S IDEOLOGY STRESSED

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 5 Aug 82 p 3

[Article by Li Qingzhen [2621 1987 5271]: "Adhere to the Theoretical Front of the Party's Ideology"]

[Text] Lenin said: "Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement." ("Selected Works of Lenin" Vol 1, p 241) "Without revolutionary theory there can be none of the world's greatest liberation movement, namely that of the oppressed classes who are also historically the most revolutionary classes." ("Selected Works of Lenin" Vol 21, pp 332-333) "Without revolutionary theory there can be no solid and strong socialist political party." ("Selected Works of Lenin" Vol 1, p 203) The three "without's" fully illustrate the importance of revolutionary theory. Precisely for the reason that theory is so important, the revolutionary teachers of the past always engaged in an unyielding struggle to guard the theory of the revolution and constantly used the revolutionary theory to arm the proletariat. Marx and Engels upheld the theoretical front of the proletarian revolution and waged an uncompromising struggle against the doctrines of Prud'hon, Bakunin and Lasalle. Lenin "stood fully on the foundation of Marxist theory," and waged a resolute struggle against the revisionism of Bernstein and the doctrines of Kautsky in order to protect and develop the Marxist theory.

The practical experience of our revolution proved that as long as the theoretical front of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought was upheld, the revolution flourished, developed and gained victories, and in the opposite case, the revolution would retrogress, incur setbacks and suffer defeat. During the period of the new-democratic revolution, our party and Comrade Mao Zedong firmly upheld the theoretical front of the party's ideology and engaged in an untiring struggle with the "left" and right opportunists who tried to weaken and destroy this front, and the final victory in the new-democratic revolution could only be won after bloody battles in which wave after wave entered the fray. In the socialist revolution and construction following seizure of political power throughout the country, our party and Comrade Mao Zedong solved the arduous tasks of building up the socialist system in China on the theoretical and on the practical plane, and furthermore enriched the theory of the proletarian dictatorship by putting forward the theory of the people's democratic dictatorship. At the same time they also correctly solved many dialectical relations in the revolution and construction and as a result gained continuous new victories.

Because the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" divorced itself from the course of Marxism-Leninism on the theoretical plane, overextended the class struggle, made widespread arrests of capitalist-roads, mixed up the two types of contradictions and, at a time when the proletariat had already seized all power and had also eliminated the exploitative system, persisted in a great political revolution of one class overthrowing another class, it, "initiated by a leader under misapprehension and capitalized on by counter-revolutionary cliques, brought on domestic turmoil and a catastrophe to the party, the state and the whole people." ("Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC," by the CPC Central Committee) This grievous lesson must remain forever in our minds, never to be forgotten.

The Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee is unique in our party's history as a great turning point of far-reaching significance. Where does this turning point have its start? Its start was in the theoretical field, which may be seen from the following: The Plenum resolutely criticized the mistaken policy of the "two whatevers," and fully affirmed the need for a complete and accurate grasp of the scientific system of Mao Zedong Thought, set a high value on the discussion of the criteria for truth and resolutely decided on such guiding principles as the liberation of thinking, the free use of everyone's brains, on seeking truth from facts and on uniting as one in our forward orientation. It resolutely decided to stop any program that had class struggle as its slogan and made the strategic decision of shifting the focus of our work to socialist modernization. All this shows that in fulfilling its historical mission to bring order out of chaos in the political as well as in the economic field, our party first of all brought order out of chaos in the theoretical field and, guided by a correct theory, determined the correct political line, principles and policies in order to have our socialist revolution and construction proceed along the correct path. Everyone of us members of the CPC must therefore maintain politically identical views with the party's Central Committee, must uphold the theoretical front of our party's ideology and must uphold the ideological system of communism.

It deserves our attention that some party members under the influence of bourgeois trends of liberalization have lost their firm belief in the ideals of communism and in Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and waver in their support of the theoretical front of our party's ideology. They propagate the "theory" that Marxism-Leninism is out of date, some advocate with fervent emotions the ideological trend of western bourgeois theories, some in a big way talk about what they call a "challenge to battle" against Marxism, etc. We must subject this trend to a concrete analysis in order to arrive at a clear distinction between right and wrong.

As new socialist countries are being set up one after the other, as new conditions arise in the development of capitalism and as new developments in the natural sciences raise new problems, it is absolutely correct to study these new conditions and problems and to further enrich and develop

Marxism-Leninism, but this must not lead us to assume that the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism have become outdated, because the blunders in our past practice, the defects in our work, the setbacks in our revolution and the failures in our construction have more often than not been the consequence of our theoretically departing from Marxism-Leninism. These mistakes and setbacks therefore do not at all denote that Marxism-Leninism has become outdated, but denote precisely that one must not deviate from Marxism-Leninism.

Basing on half-baked knowledge of new scientific discoveries, some people ostentatiously proclaim a "challenge" to Marxism-Leninism. If this "challenge" means that Marxists must study certain new discoveries, must summarize them and provide answers, this is a correct attitude. However, it is all wrong if some comrades, including some party members, try to replace Marxism-Leninism with humanitarianism, if some advocate existentialism and other western bourgeois trends of thought and if others lavish praise on the western science-philosophy, believing that this philosophy is superior to the "natural dialectics" of Engels.

It is a misconception to think that communists reject humanity and attach no importance to man. However, to regard humanitarianism as superior to Marxism-Leninism is not a misinterpretation, but rather a mistake. No matter how often discussed, humanitarianism is after all not an ideological system of the proletariat, but an ideological system of the bourgeoisie. Used as an antifeudal banner, it has progressive aspects, but as a tool against the socialist revolution its effect is negative. After the seizure of political power by the proletariat, we emphasized paying great attention to the function of man, we concerned ourselves with the material interests of man and stressed the development of the spiritual civilization. All these are important items contained in the theories of Marxism-Leninism. It is contrary to the realities to suggest that emphasis on the function of man and the liberation of man are solely concerns of humanitarianism and things apart from Marxism-Leninism. Marxism-Leninism comprises the positive components of humanitarianism, but must not be turned into humanitarianism as such.

We cannot altogether reject the western science-philosophy, but must introduce it, try to understand it, study it, take care to adopt its quintessence, reject its dross and thus enrich and develop the natural dialectics. However, we must not go to the extreme of believing that the western science-philosophy is the one most closely linked with science, is the most useful one and most appropriate for the development of modern science, and that natural dialectics are somewhat senile and of not much use. Such sentiments would be harmful; they would not only not be helpful in our studies of the science-philosophy, but would be an impediment in the development of natural dialectics.

Why is it that some can persevere and some waver on the theoretical front of our party's ideology? There are mainly three reasons for that: their stand is questionable, their conviction is questionable and their style of study is questionable.

Marxist theory, the same as Marxist philosophy, shows two outstanding characteristics: one is its practicality and one is its class nature. It is impossible for a member of the communist party who does not possess a clear and firm proletarian stand, to thoroughly understand and truly master the Marxist-Leninist theories and methods and furthermore to make these his own weapons in the struggle. As Comrade Liu Shaoqi correctly expressed it: "To gain a fairly high understanding of the theories of Marxism-Leninism, a communist must possess a lofty proletarian stand." ("Selected Works of Liu Shaoqi" Vol 1, p 115) Why can some communists not uphold the theoretical front of Marxist-Leninist ideology? Most importantly, because these comrades do not have a very good and firm proletarian stand. To uphold the theoretical front of the party's ideology, it is therefore necessary, first of all, to adhere to a proletarian stand.

Next, one must have a belief in communism. The communist conviction roots in the law of social development and is built on the theoretical foundation of Marxism-Leninism. Only with this conviction can one make a clear distinction between right and wrong and keep alive the vigor and fervor of youth. Why was it possible for countless communists during the war-ridden years of the past to advance wave after wave in bloody battles unafraid of any sacrifice? It was because they persevered in their faith in communism. Why was it that during the period when the "gang of four" was on the rampage, many old comrades suffered cruel persecutions, but remained in high spirits, held out and did not break down? It was because they firmly believed in communism, believed in the masses and in the party. A communist who wavers in his communist conviction will suffer defeat in the theoretical struggle and end up a prisoner of bourgeois ideology. To uphold the theoretical front of the proletarian ideology it is therefore necessary to acquire a firm conviction in communism.

Thirdly, it is also necessary to acquire the good style of study of linking theory with practice. This good style of study demands of us, on the one hand, that we study systematically and comprehensively the theories of Marxism, and on the other hand that we apply Marxist theory in the solution of the practical problems of the revolution and construction. Only in this manner can theory be well learned, can the authority of the theory be given full play, can we continuously amend certain specific outdated conclusions in the Marxist-Leninist theories, can we correctly deal with the preservation and development of the dialectical relations and in the process of these developments uphold the theoretical front of the party and at the same time further expand the treasure-house of Marxist theory. If the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee would not have adopted a policy of (a) upholding and (b) developing Mao Zedong Thought, or would have carried on the "two whatevers," or arbitrarily abandoned the whole, any thought of attaining the present excellent overall situation in the revolution and in construction would be out of the question.

In short, Marxism-Leninism is the science of the proletarian revolution and the science of building up socialism and communism by the working class. In order to uphold the theoretical front of the party's ideology, we must take a firm proletarian stand, acquire a conviction in communism and foster the good study style of linking theory with practice.

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PARTY AND STATE

PARTY EDUCATION EMPHASIZED IN QINGHAI PROVINCE

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 21 Jul 82 p 3

[Article by Yu Weihai [0205 0143 3189]: "Foster the Excellent Traditions of the Party, Be a Qualified Communist Party Member--41 Units in Qinghai Province Have Achieved Results in Education in Party Character, Style and Discipline"]

[Text] The Qinghai Communist Party Committee has achieved relatively good results in carrying out education in party character, style and discipline in 41 units. Not long ago, the provincial party committee summarized the experiences of these units and made plans for continuing to carry out such education.

From March to May of this year, under the guidance of the provincial party committee, 41 units in Qinghai Province carried out in-depth education of their party members in party character, style and discipline. These 41 units included agricultural commune teams, stock-raising communes, industrial and communications enterprises, commercial shops, schools and subdistrict offices and agencies. Their method was to lecture to party members in party classes, using the "Guiding Principles" and the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China" and other documents as basic teaching materials, and to follow up with discussions and with criticism and self-criticism, seeing to it that party members received a systematic education in the nature of the party and the far-reaching goals of communism, in the excellent workstyle and organizational discipline of the party and being a qualified Communist Party member, and in the function of grassroots party organizations and opposition to capitalist ideological corruption under the new conditions.

In their study and discussions, many party members linked the concrete conditions of their own units to the increased political stability throughout the nation and the province, the continually increasing unity among the people, the daily improvement in the economy and the gradual improvement in the lives of the people. They recognize that the line, principles and policies of the party since the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee are suited to the basic tenets of Marxism concerning scientific socialism and to the actual conditions of our nation. Some party members said that education in party character, style and discipline was for them remedial training which helped them to quell chaos and restore order ideologically, clarifying many rights and wrongs for them and making clear the importance of maintaining political unanimity with

the party Central Committee. In carrying out education in party character, style and discipline, Dangxiang Commune, Maqin County, in the Kuo-lo Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, in accordance with the concrete situation, educated party members in religious policies and how Communist Party members should handle religious problems, and used concrete facts to help party members clarify what is materialist and what is idealist and so uphold communist purity.

In those units that carried out education in party character, style and discipline, unhealthy tendencies among party members, such as extravagant eating and drinking, entertaining and giving gifts and securing advantages through improper channels, have been reduced and the excellent workstyles of diligent austerity, intimacy with the masses, honesty in the performance of duties and the impartial handling of matters have been fostered. During this round of education, the party branch of the Jinxing Brigade, Machangyuan Commune, in Minhe County had four branch committee members who checked into their own mistakes in misappropriating and being tardy in repayment of collective funds. Moreover, in the middle of May they cleared all accounts. In their education, every party branch of Gaomiao Commune in Ledu County solved the problem of certain party members violating regulations and occupying residential lots, safeguarded the economy and attacked unhealthy trends and evil practices. The party members of the Nantan office in Chengzhong District of the city of Xining, in their educational activities, carried out criticism and self-criticism in a side-by-side comparison with the standards for party members. One old party member who had entered the party in 1944, in the course of investigating, confessed to the mistake of splitting a total of 1,200 yuan of public funds with other personnel on two occasions. As anguished tears fell, she said: I entered the party at age 19, laid mines, fought the Japanese invaders and feared nothing. I never imagined that 30 some years later, with my children working and my life quite prosperous, I would lose my party character and do shameful things to offend the party. She indicated that she would certainly take the initiative to return the funds, redeem her reputation and once again be a good party member.

The masses were very happy to see the results of this education in party character, style and discipline. They said that if only we continue in this serious fashion will party style, the behavior of the people and social practices all see an obvious turn for the better.

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CSO: 4005/1096

PARTY AND STATE

IDEOLOGICAL REMOLDING OF LITERATURE, ART WORKERS STRESSED

Beijing WENYIBAO [LITERATURE AND ART JOURNAL] in Chinese No 6, 7 Jun 82
pp 28-36

[Article by He Xilai [0419 6007 0171]: "Continuous Remolding of One's Subjective World While Changing the Objective World--On the Problem of Remolding the World Outlook of the Literature and Art Workers"]

[Text] The need for literature and art workers to undergo remolding of their world outlook was pointed out by Comrade Mao Zedong in his "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art." It is one of the fundamental questions in Comrade Mao Zedong's scientific system concerning literature and art ideology.

At present there is still confusion in people's understanding of this basic question, and the reasons for this are complex. There are historical reasons, as for instance, the deliberate distortions of the counterrevolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing, our own mistaken leftist aberrations, etc. There are also realistic reasons, such as a rigid way of thinking, an inability to sum up correctly the lessons of history, succumbing to the influences of bourgeois mentality and its onslaught, etc. This confusion manifests itself not only on the theoretical plane, but is also reflected in the actual writings and works of art. In order to enable our country's socialist literature and art undertakings to develop along the correct path and in a healthy manner, it is extremely important that we engage in a renewed study of Comrade Mao Zedong's relevant treatises, subject them to a historical and scientific analysis and evaluation, uphold their basic viewpoints, which have been proven to be objective truths in our practical experiences, deal with any complications and errors that have arisen in the past in a truthful and realistic manner, drawing lessons from them, and clear up the confused thinking and all misunderstandings that surround this question.

The Question of Ideological Remolding of the Literature and Art Workers, Its Proposition and Evaluation

How are we ultimately to evaluate, understand and firmly uphold the need for the ideological remolding of the literature and art workers and for a remolding of their world view, as proposed by Comrade Mao Zedong? In this respect there are two tendencies that deserve our attention. One is the attitude and method of dogmatism. Comrades who adopt this attitude and its

methods disregard the positive and negative experiences provided by the actual literary and art practice of the past several decades, disregard that the historical conditions have greatly developed and changed and propose to reissue, unchanged and intact, the past slogans of ideological remolding of the literature and art workers, and moreover demand that the literature and art workers, who in the meantime have become part of the working class, change their "standpoint." The other tendency is to adopt a light-minded attitude toward Comrade Mao Zedong's ideas on literature and art, or even an attitude of negating everything in these ideas and deny fundamentally the need for a continuous remolding of the world view of literature and art workers. Outwardly these two tendencies are very much in opposition to one another, but in actual fact both equally depart from the principle that practice is the only criterion for truth and both display subjectivist and metaphysical methods in their cognitive processes.

If we adopt the scientific and analytical attitude of historicism in this question, we must acknowledge that Comrade Mao Zedong's proposals in this question of remolding the world view of the literature and art workers are in essence absolutely correct, and that they not only had an inestimable positive effect in the literature and art movement of those days, but are of significance as universal guides for a long time to come.

As Comrade Mao Zedong saw it, the question of "for whom" was the basic question and question of principle; it was the central point for his solution of the entire problem of literary and art theory. The viewpoint of service to the broad masses therefore had to occupy the central position in his scientific system of literature and art ideology, and became the fulcrum of his entire theory. Since literature and art was to serve the masses, to depict their life and struggle, express their hopes, demands and ideals, act as the faithful spokesman for their basic interests, there was first of all the problem of having the literature and art workers combine with the masses, especially with the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers. This was a problem that has demanded urgent solution since the time of the 4 May movement, but which has never been solved very effectively. The key to the solution of this problem is the demand that it is necessary for the literature and art workers to identify themselves completely with the thinking and feeling of the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers. However, in those days the large number of intellectuals, including literature and art workers, that came from the Kuomintang-controlled area in Yen-an and other anti-Japanese bases still preserved to a varying degree rather strong petty bourgeois habits and peculiarities. The world view of the majority of them, acquired either by social origin or by the education they had received, was still basically that of the petty bourgeoisie. Although they were physically in the liberated area, they were very far apart from the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers in thoughts and feelings, and quite a number of them even looked down upon workers, peasants and soldiers. To have them identify themselves completely with the thinking and feeling of the workers, peasants and soldiers, it was therefore first of all necessary to change their standpoint. Comrade Mao Zedong's proposals for an ideological remolding of the literature and art workers were precisely aiming at this kind of concrete situation. He proposed to the literature and art workers that they plunge into the fiery

struggle of the workers, peasants and soldiers, study society, study Marxism-Leninism and through a protracted and even painful process of polishing and tempering move their standpoint to the side of the workers, peasants and soldiers, to the side of the prolétariat, and as a consequence become one with them in thinking and feeling and achieve an integration with them. There is no doubt that all this is correct. Later practical experience has proven that the correct implementation of Comrade Mao Zedong's proposals regarding ideological remolding to be undergone by the numerous literature and art workers basically solved the problem of integrating themselves with the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and completely changed the appearance of revolutionary literature and art. Many famous writers and artists have put the above-mentioned demands into practice in their lifetime and by doing so have achieved outstanding successes in the arts and earned for themselves great prestige among the broad masses of readers.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "The literature and art workers should exert great efforts in studying Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, to raise their ability to understand life, to analyze life, to penetrate its phenomena and gain a firm grip on the essence of things. We hope that more and more comrades among our literature and art workers will become engineers of the human soul in reality as well as in name. A person must first himself undergo education before he can teach others. Before a person can impart nutrition he has to be nurtured himself."¹ However, it is only the people that can be mother to the literature and art workers and that alone can give them education and nourishment. These ideas of Comrade Deng Xiaoping outline the content, path and the necessity for the literature and art workers to remold their subjective world outlook in this new era. It is an application and further development of Comrade Mao Zedong's above-mentioned ideas and a firm support of the fundamental principles of the "Talks."

Some of our comrades are mindful of the leftist mistakes committed by Comrade Mao Zedong in his later years in dealing with the problems of the literature and art workers and the intellectuals in general, mistakes that were exploited by the counterrevolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing and led to very serious consequences. These comrades therefore attributed everything without further analysis simply to the "Talks," and for this reason rejected the fundamental spirit of the "Talks" and believe that intellectuals are in no further need of remolding their world view, which is an unhistorical and unscientific attitude. It would be unfair to take this attitude when dealing with the "Talks" and with Comrade Mao Zedong's literature and art ideology.

Of course, that does not mean that every word and every sentence in Comrade Mao Zedong's statements on the ideological remolding of the literature and art workers in the "Talks" is correct, and that there is no onesidedness at all. In fact, while he was carrying out a correct elucidation of all major aspects of the problem, certain parts appear as onesided, as for instance the excessive emphasis on politics, etc. However, even with regard to these onesided utterances we must adopt the scientific analytical attitude of historicism.

The "Talks" were published in the middle years of the war of resistance against Japan, when the national and class contradictions were sharply in evidence.

War, which Clausewitz called the continuation of politics with other means, and which Lenin called a political monstrosity of bloodshed, was fiercely going on every day, and every day saw men of the revolutionary parties and of the masses give their blood and sacrifice their lives in the battles with the national enemy and with the diehards of our own country. In a time like that, politics, especially of the kind that manifested itself in the form of war, became the major content and major element in the lives of the military and civilian population in all the base areas. Under these circumstances it is very natural and also necessary to give politics great emphasis on the theoretical plane and to give greater attention to the political standpoint and attitude of the literature and art workers. In his "Talks" Comrade Mao Zedong defines politics as "the struggle of class against class," which is basically correct when starting out from the concrete historical factors of the time and from the main content of the struggle that our party was then leading. However, here already lies the possibility for a commission of onesidedness. If anything that is basically correct is overemphasized and turned into an absolute, it will slide into a false direction. In actual fact, whatever is found not fully appropriate and not sufficiently comprehensive in the theoretical parts of the "Talks," can be blamed on the overemphasis on politics. Moreover, the criticism and treatment meted out to some literature and art workers at that time was not all altogether correct. Besides, as history has developed to this day when class struggle is no more a major contradiction in our society, it would be very dangerous to still cling to the above-mentioned understanding of politics and take it as the foundation on which to build our various policies. The ideology of an extended class war after the middle of the fifties and the later stress on turning politics into an absolute in all fields can of course not all be attributed to the definition of politics in the "Talks," but it cannot be denied that certain onesidedness in the "Talks" in that respect have had an influence on the subsequent events.

From Discrimination to "Dictatorship," a Grievous Lesson

The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" adopted at the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee pointed out: "We must firmly eradicate such gross fallacies as the denigration of education, science and culture and discrimination against intellectuals, fallacies which have long existed and found extreme expression during the 'Cultural Revolution'; we must strive to raise the status and expand the role of education, science and culture in our drive for modernization. We unequivocally affirm that, together with the workers and peasants, the intellectuals are a force to rely on in the cause of socialism and that it is impossible to carry out socialist construction without culture and the intellectuals."² This is a truthful conclusion arrived at after a protracted and tortuous path of cognition; it is also an extremely precious lesson paid for at a grievously high price.

However, we must realize that the discrimination and prejudice against the intellectuals, including the literature and art workers, which was several decades in forming, cannot be totally swept away in one morning, but that we must be prepared to expend a similar length of time, if not more, to

ultimately overcome these attitudes. It would invite disaster to underestimate the problem and treat it lightly.

Since the Third Plenary Session, the Party Central Committee has effectively adopted systematic methods to implement its policy toward the intellectuals, to redress the cases of persons unjustly, falsely and wrongly charged, that were left over from the various political movements of the past, and to stimulate socialist enthusiasm among the large number of literature and art workers and intellectuals to devote themselves to the drive for the four modernizations. At no time during the last 10 or 20 years have they felt as happy as now, which is fully illustrated by the initial flourishing of literary and art creations and the initial enlivening of theoretical criticism. However, some people in our society have not yet become reconciled to it and exclaim in alarm: "The intellectuals again have 'their tails up,' they should be sternly repressed!" Is it possible that certain individual intellectuals have "their tails up"? It is of course possible that this can happen under certain conditions, the same as in other classes and other strata. These individuals must be subjected to education, but the large majority of intellectuals and literature and art workers are not like that, as they are busy trying to make up for the wasted years or to repair the losses they have sustained by now working diligently and conscientiously for the party, each at his own post. This talk of "having their tails up" is nothing but a kind of subjective perception by people who had become accustomed to see the intellectuals behave as if running "with their tails between their legs" and once they no more "run with their tails between their legs," some people get alarmed and shout about it.

In unison with those who talk of "repressing," there are some comrades in our literary and art circles who proffer a remedy for the malady of "tails up." They propose to initiate a slogan of "ideological remolding" and to implement it particularly among the literature and art workers, having them "first of all change their standpoint." What does it mean to "change one's standpoint"? In this context, standpoint refers to the class standpoint, the political standpoint. The so-called "change of standpoint" is therefore a change "from one class to another class" standpoint. However, in our present society, the large number of literature and art workers have already become part of the working people and have thus already become part of the working class. We must clearly and definitely acknowledge that the problem of their political standpoint--speaking for the overwhelming majority of their rank and file--has already been solved. Under these circumstances, what would it mean to have them "first of all conscientiously change their standpoint"? Would we possibly ask them to change from being part of the working class into becoming part of the bourgeoisie? To be sure, there might be some among the literature and art workers who have allowed themselves to become corroded by the ideology of the bourgeoisie or other exploiting classes, just as there might be some among the working class who show a similar corrosion. The only method to solve this problem is to treat each specific case in a specific way: if it is a question of ideology, apply criticism and education, if it is a case of breaking the law, there should be punishment by law. Precisely as in the case of other contingents, where we would not initiate an "ideological remolding" slogan particularly for this special contingent as a whole if one

of its members went astray, we must not initiate the slogan of "ideological remolding" aimed at "changing the standpoint" specifically for the whole contingent of our literature and art workers. Of course that does not mean to say that the literature and art workers need not attach importance to the remolding of their world view, but it merely means to say that, the same as in the case of the entire working class and all working people, this remolding must fall under the general topic of "continuous remolding of one's subjective world view as we change the objective world."

In the question of how to deal with the literature and art workers and the intellectuals in general, we must certainly remember well the grievous lesson of the past transition from discrimination to despising to distrusting and finally to "dictatorship" over them.

After the establishment of our government, the discrimination against the intellectuals, including the literature and art workers, mainly showed in the following directions:

Firstly, the false appraisal of conditions among the contingent of our intellectuals. This mistaken conception endured for about a full 20 years and grew even more serious the longer it lasted. In 1957, when Comrade Mao Zedong appraised the conditions among our intellectuals, numbering about 5 million, he stated that the great majority of them "held basically the world view of the bourgeoisie; they still belonged to the bourgeois intelligentsia."³ The so-called bourgeois intelligentsia, as Lenin explained, are downright bourgeois elements, and it was not right at that time to designate the great majority of our intellectuals as standing on the side of the bourgeoisie. The reasons are, first of all, that it was at variance with the facts. The contingent of literature and art workers of New China was in the main composed of two sections. One section of them came from the liberated areas and one section came from the Kuomintang-controlled areas. Most of the literature and art workers who came from the liberated areas had undergone an extended revolutionary tempering in the struggle for liberation of the masses. They were the mainstay of the literature and art contingent in New China, and it would of course be wrong to call them bourgeois elements. Among those literature and art workers who had come from the nationalist-controlled areas, conditions differed very much. There were progressive literary and art circles who, under the leadership and influence of the party, had conducted a protracted struggle against the repressive policies of the Kuomintang. These men had constituted a wing or allied force of our party on the cultural front. There was no reason to assign them to the bourgeoisie. As to the other literature and art workers who had come from the nationalist-controlled areas, many of them had been resentful of the reactionary rule of the Kuomintang; they were actually petty-bourgeois elements. Regardless of whether the literature and art workers had come from the liberated areas of the nationalist-controlled areas, by 1957 they had actually worked 8 years for the New China, for the proletariat and the working people and had already made great progress in ideological respects. We should therefore regard the overwhelming majority of them as "part of the working class," as Comrade Zhou Enlai did, strictly according to the facts, in an opinion expressed in his report to a conference on the intellectuals called by the CCP Central Committee in January 1957.

Next, the resolution of the Eighth CCP National Congress in 1956 had already made it clear that following the basic completion of the three major transformations, the exploiting class as class had been eliminated and that the class struggle had ceased to be a major contradiction. Under these circumstances, it would be a departure from the correct assessment made by the Eighth CCP National Congress regarding the domestic political situation and the state of the class structure, to designate as bourgeoisie the majority of these intellectuals and literature and art workers who by then had already undergone education by the party and the people of New China and had engaged in self-remolding for the period of 8 years. Furthermore, the wrong assessment of the intellectuals also departed from the consistent ideology and consistent policy of our party and of Comrade Mao Zedong himself, namely of valuing and trusting the intellectuals during the democratic revolution. In the "Talks," for instance, Comrade Mao Zedong still regarded the majority of the intellectuals as petty bourgeoisie, which was consistent with the facts. After 15 years during which the intellectuals had made great progress and their world outlook had greatly changed, there was of course less reason to "promote" the intellectuals from petty to fullfledged bourgeoisie. Why did we say that this mistaken assessment of the intellectuals grew more serious the longer it lasted? Because after liberation, the cultural and educational undertakings too experienced a great development, which came to a stop in the "Great Cultural Revolution." Students that had been nurtured and educated in schools according to the educational policy of the party, had in great numbers supplemented the ranks of the intellectuals, and the number of intellectuals had swelled to over 20 million, with the odds also more than 20 years ago. In the face of these facts, one should have even less persisted in the original assessment; one should not have called the schools of New China, operated under the guidance of the party, "old schools" or schools "under the control of the bourgeois intellectuals." Stalin had called the students educated in Soviet schools after the October revolution, "working class intellectuals," but we ourselves designated the millions of intellectuals educated in our own schools as belonging to the bourgeois side, and would not acknowledge this mighty contingent of working class intellectuals. We cannot but call this a tragedy.

Secondly, the political criticisms of mass character frequently unleashed, hurricane-like, against the literature and art workers. Theoretically, since it was assumed that the majority of the intellectuals were a part of the bourgeoisie and not a part of the working class, not even petty bourgeoisie as the "Talks" stated, the inevitable conclusion would have been to use the methods of class struggle of a mass character, the methods of political movements, to resolve their problems and effect their remolding. There occurred in the end the contradiction that on the one hand it had been solemnly proclaimed that the hurricane-like class struggle of mass character was over, and on the other hand in the dealings of the large number of intellectuals and literature and art workers, these "criticism struggles" were launched again and again against them, which to a large degree had the character of coercion. If it was thought that a problem had arisen about the literature and art workers or their work, we frequently did not use a method akin to "gentle breezes and mild rain," nor the method of criticism, self-criticism and patient education, but rather pointed them out at every turn as "revisionists," "poisonous weeds," "teachers by negative example," "monsters and demons," etc., very fierce

criticisms accompanied by severe punishments. We have to say that treating the literature and art workers and other intellectuals in this manner is a major manifestation of overextending the scope of class struggle. Of course, we must not hold Comrade Mao Zedong responsible for all these circumstances. In actual fact our respected senior protected in many instances many well-known and not so well-known literature and art workers, one example is his attitude toward the views expressed by Wang Meng [3769 5536] in "The New Young Man in the Organizational Department." He also had maintained almost throughout all his years rather intimate connections with some famous writers and artists. Here we must also separate our own mistakes in actual practice from the series of criticisms by Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng [1660 3932] and the like, who started their meddling on the eve of the "Great Cultural Revolution" and carried it to extremes in the "Great Cultural Revolution," because these are two kinds of problems completely different in character.

Thirdly, putting forward the thesis of exercising dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure, which was to include all fields of culture. How was "proletarian dictatorship" to be carried out in the cultural field? There it was to be "raising high the great flag of the proletarian cultural revolution, thoroughly expose the bourgeois reactionary stand of that lot of antiparty, antisocialist so-called 'academic authorities,' thoroughly criticize the reactionary bourgeois mentality of the academic circles, educational circles, the press, the literature and art circles and publishing circles, and seize the leadership in all these cultural fields." These viewpoints were used by the counterrevolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing and later expanded into the thesis of an "overall dictatorship" and a cultural despotism of a feudal and fascist character. They were used by them to carry out an appalling tyranny over the literary and art circles. Those bloody events of the past are known to all. By that time it was no more a matter of whether or not to remold, but undisguised violence and coercion.

There is no need for reticence. During that long period of time, the so-called "ideological remolding" of the literature and art workers did not aim at having them consciously remold their world view, but to have members of our own class forced to the side of the bourgeoisie under the slogan of "ideological remolding" and "exclusive control" of their "politics." Men were divided into two groups: some were the remolders; they specially remolded others, and some were the ones to be remolded. Once plunged into this abyss of misery, there was no hope of ever regaining freedom. One was to be "struck down flat, stamped on and never to be allowed to redeem oneself." Can we forget that calamity so soon? Must we not spurn this form of "changing one's standpoint"? Must not this grievous lesson be remembered forever, a lesson paid for at so heavy a price by one generation of intellectuals, including the literature and art workers, as also by our party and our people? That talk of "forcing their tails down" had better stop!

The Effect of the Ideological Liberation Movement in the Remolding of the Subjective World Must Not Be Underestimated

The literature and art workers, as long as they are alive, will actually not stop remolding their subjective world every single day. The question is what kind of a remolding is it. The clap of thunder of the 5 April movement, that shook the souls of all literature and art workers, and the heroic feat of smashing the "gang of four," held out new hopes for the literature and art workers. All these events induced a conscious or unconscious remolding of their subjective world, and there was no need for others to proclaim the slogan of "ideological remolding" on their behalf.

The movement for ideological liberation started in the middle of 1978 as a onetime self-education of mass character under the guidance of the party and as a movement of far-reaching influence. We must take this movement fully into account in its effect on the remolding of the subjective world of the literature and art workers.

However, two major erroneous views exist in connection with this question. One is the rigid viewpoint. People who adhere to this viewpoint start out from a "Leftist" bias. They frown on this and that in the new atmosphere and new phase of literature and art. They attack one isolated point without considering the rest. They seize on nonessentials and partial aspects and reject the main and the overall aspect. They describe the literature and art of the new era as a complete chaos. They say: "You see, this has all been brought about by the Third Plenary Session!" They believe that it is the result of the ideological liberation having confused the people's minds. The other erroneous view is the viewpoint of liberalization. People who hold this view do not see the Marxist character of the ideological liberation movement and its specific historical connotation, and adopt the attitude of pragmatism in going along with this movement, thus distorting the movement. either serve as eye-openers for the dregs of the ideology of the exploiting class or shout loud for the free diffusion of the idealist ideology, or they smuggle bourgeois and petty bourgeois contraband into their own utterances and works, blatantly seeking publicity for these wares. Both these viewpoints run counter to the purport of the ideological liberation movement. They both stand in opposite extreme positions, both in opposition to the ideological liberation movement. To arrive at a correct assessment of the effect of the ideological liberation movement on the remolding of the subjective world among the literature and art workers, it is necessary to draw a clear line of demarcation against these two erroneous viewpoints.

In what directions must we then after all look to see the huge impetus that the ideological liberation movement gave to the remolding of the subjective world among the literature and art workers?

First of all, the ideological liberation movement made the literature and art workers throw off the fetters and shackles of leftist dogma and liberated their capacity for independent thinking, which had been suppressed for a long time. Just as a body cannot dance when shackled, the mind cannot think independently and cannot create when shackled. Owing to the long-term restraint

by leftist dogma and the later 10-year long oppression by the cultural tyranny of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," many literature and art workers have had to endure a great amount of suffering, or have seen the great amount of suffering of others, brought on themselves by independent thinking, and thus have already become accustomed to regard themselves as mentally dwarfed, and some have even become paralyzed to an extent as to doubt their ability of independent thinking. The world of literature and art is a serious disaster area. The turbulent waves of the various erroneous political movements have caused quite a number of people to still remain in the grip of residual fear, and the trauma of those days cannot be cured in a short while. At the start, people could not but look back three times for every step they dared to take and take these steps very haltingly. The pace of ideological liberation in literature and art has been distinctly speeded up and caught up only after the Third Plenary Session. This has been indicated by the criticism of the "Summary," which had been the programme for the ultraleftist reactionary ideology in literature and art. Only after this greatest of stumbling blocks had been removed, could ideology truly break out of its imprisonment. The powerful shockwave of the ideological liberation movement finally threw open those firmly locked ideological windows for the literature and art workers and opened to them an immensely wide, limitless expanse of a new, free world. Their vitality, that had lain dormant for so long, was reawakened and they rediscovered their ability to think independently. This is precisely a matter that falls within the scope of remolding the subjective world and is the indispensable subjective condition of first order for all artistic creation.

Next, the ideological liberation movement provided the literature and art workers with a onetime vivid and specific Marxist education. Some had understood the ideological liberation movement as allowing freedom from all restricting ties, allowing everyone's fancy to run wild. This is at least a misunderstanding of the ideological liberation. In actual fact the present ideological liberation movement is a onetime truly Marxist educational movement instituted and led by the party, to put into effect the most fundamental principle of Marxist epistemology, namely the norm that practice is the only criterion for the verification of truth. The movement has developed well, always following its main trends, namely the path of seeking truth from facts, integrating theory with practice and starting out in all affairs from the realities of the situation. The main objective of this movement is to liberate our cadres and the masses from the restrictive ties of the "Great Cultural Revolution" and of the preceding leftist mistakes, as well as from the restraints of the "two whatevers," and return them back to the scientific path of Marxism and Mao Zedong Thought and to our excellent tradition of starting out in all matters from the realities of the situation and seeking truth from facts, so that they will be able to understand the new situation and to solve the new problems. It was precisely through this movement of ideological liberation that the whole nation was aroused to an unprecedented development of their spirit of realism. Reflected in the literary and art theory, it shows as an emphasis on restoring and developing the tradition of realism in the revolutionary literature. Reflected in the actual creations, it shows realism as the primary trend in the literature and art of the new era. In the course of the ideological liberation movement the literature and art workers studied the standpoint, viewpoint and methods of Marxism, not in a rigid

mechanical or doctrinaire way, but according to the basic principles of seeking truth from facts and observing life and contemplating the yesterday, today and the future of ourselves and of our state in a realistic and not illusory way. Studying and mastering the standpoint, viewpoint and methods of Marxism is the fundamental link in the remolding of the world view of the literature and art workers, as it has been consistently emphasized by Comrade Mao Zedong. The ideological liberation movement is just right in providing a powerful impetus in this direction.

Furthermore, the ideological liberation movement is promoting the integration of the literature and art workers with the masses. The leftist dogmatism, the "two whatevers," and the personality cult are, fundamentally speaking, attitudes divorced from the masses and showing contempt for the historical materialism which forms the philosophical basis of the masses. This trend manifested itself in the field of literature and art by having many writers and artists, who had described the true life of the people, their genuine aspirations and the true voices of the masses, labelled as "elements" of this and that, relegated to the lowest stratum of society and for a long period of time excluded from the literary stage. Then, works appeared in large numbers that gave a false picture of peace and prosperity, that extolled a god-deity, that created god-deities and that propagated the personality cult. The development of this serious alienation from the masses led of necessity to an "antipeople" literature in the "Great Cultural Revolution." The ideological liberation movement turned this round and got rid of the restrictive ties of leftist dogmatism and the "two whatevers," and had the literature and art workers quite naturally draw closer again to their mother, the people. Not only those who had been proclaimed "enemies of the people" and dumped into the lowest strata, because of their long suffering together with the people, when resuming writing and creative activities, forcefully stimulated the heartbeat of the people with their works, but the new generation of young writers too, when starting for the first time to sing their joyful songs, echoed on the keyboard of their artists' soul the true aspirations of the people. We must say that it is truly the ideological liberation movement that has returned the people's artists back to the people, has returned to the artists their right of independent thinking and representing the people's fate, and thus finally returned art to the people. The response of the masses to works that truthfully reflect a picture of the actual society in which they live, to works that incisively and penetratingly raise the urgent problems that they are concerned with, and to works that mold the statues of the men of action in the frontline of our transformations, has been of an intensity that is spectacular without precedent. All this explains that the ideological liberation movement has liberated the brains and eyes of our literature and art workers from the rigid and dense kingdom of leftist dogmatism back to humanity and the people and promoted their integration. This should be written in specially large letters, because the strength of our socialist literature and art, its special quality and its hopes rest on this circumstance.

Practice has clearly shown that since the ideological liberation movement, especially after the Third Plenary Session, the remolding of the subjective world of the literature and art workers was neither slighted by our party nor rejected or resented by the vast number of our literature and art workers. On

the contrary, the overwhelming majority of the literature and art workers underwent this onetime greatest ideological remolding with a great sense of awareness, painstakingly and in a cheerful frame of mind; it cannot be compared with the ideological remolding campaigns of the twenties and thirties, which were artificial, coercive and aimed to be carried out especially by the literature and art workers.

"Remolding Has No End; We Must Remold Until We Die"

The ideology of literature and art and of the literature and art workers has thrown off the restrictive ties of a mistaken leftist policy, gained an initial measure of freedom and opened up prospects of an excellent development. All this undoubtedly must have our approval. However, this must not be reason to conclude that the literature and art workers may stop at this point, that no further remolding is necessary and that we need not advance further. If we were to adopt this attitude, we would commit an egregious error. This is so because the long-standing "leftist" habits and "leftist" prejudices, be it in society or among the literary and art circles or even in our own minds, still exist to a varying degree and even at certain times and in certain comrades manifest themselves with great tenacity. We must therefore continue to persevere in our policy of ideological liberation, ideological liberation being in essence a remolding of one's world view. Furthermore, because seen from the viewpoint of Marxist epistemology, there is no limit to the activities of mankind in transforming the objective world, man's knowledge accordingly has no limits, and we cannot and also must not stop and remain stationary at a certain point. In order to attain the hoped-for victory in the process of transforming the objective world, many must continuously tally his own subjective knowledge with the realities of the objective things, must continuously follow the changes in the objective things and the deeper penetration of practical activities by revising his own knowledge, in order to better coordinate the subjective and objective relations, in one word, must continuously remold his own subjective world. There is no exception for anyone, and the same applies to the literature and art workers. The idea that a world view once adopted will hold good for all times is an ossified and decadent viewpoint, a viewpoint without a future, a kind of metaphysical thinking. Starting out precisely from the basic principle of Marxist epistemology, Comrade Zhou Enlai said: "If a member of the communist party would think that his remolding has been completed and that he is in no further need of remolding, that is not a good communist. I often say, remolding has no end, we must remold until we die. At that time we could not say that all remolding was sufficiently done, but could merely say that it will have brought some improvement as compared with now."⁵

As was stated before, from the grievous lesson of history we have finally come to understand that discrimination against the literature and art workers is harmful in a hundred ways and brings not one single advantage. Since most literature and art workers have already become a part of the working class and of the laboring people, we must not bring out again a slogan of "ideological remolding" with the intentional or unintentional premise of discrimination against them and to be especially carried out by them. However, that certainly does not mean that the literature and art workers may relax in their strict demands on their own world view, that they may stagnate and stop advancing

and that they may cease further remolding. It also does not mean that the principle of "whoever wants to teach must first receive education himself" and the principle of integrating themselves with the masses in thinking and feeling, as set forth by Comrade Mao Zedong in his "Tales," are no more effective and out of date. As we consider the question of the literature and art workers remolding their world view on an equal basis as for the working class and laboring people, it would be absolutely necessary in this question to make even stricter demands on them. The reason is simply that they are educators and as such engineers of the soul.

We are just now witnessing a great transformation. There are rapid changes in the course and rhythm of life. Profound changes are being experienced from the economic base up to the huge area of the superstructure, from the people's life style, way of thinking and minute innermost world of the individual to customs and habits in general. If the literature and art workers are to reflect this historical progression of changes, they must accurately feel the heartbeat of these changes, they must catch up in their own subjective knowledge with the advanced pace of the time and they must in all their thinking and feeling maintain constant contact with the masses, especially with the advanced elements among the masses. All this makes it clear that the task of remolding one's world view has certainly not become simpler and easier, that it may be engaged in at one's discretion, but that it has rather become a much harder one.

This was said according to conditions in general. Apart from these conditions, we must not overlook that in the brains of some people among the literary and art circles, there are many most inappropriate and outdated ideas which are inconsistent with the present times and with the demands of the party and the people. The brains of some people are inflexible, their thinking is ossified and their outlook is narrow. They insist obstinately on wrapping themselves in leftist dogmatism as in a tight cocoon. They have absolutely no conscious sense for self-remolding. Clearly, the own subjective world of such a person is divorced from the objective world, his own illusions, propositions, ideas and writings are out of touch, and even in conflict with the revolutionary practice, the demands, aspirations and the will of the masses, and he will not show any wish to change. Obviously the situation has changed, history has marched on, but a person of that kind will still cling to the old stuff that practice has already proven as something that will not work. By habit they evaluate everything by rigid "leftist" conventions and itch to cram all of the lifefull, dynamic and ebullient literature and art into that thick cocoon, as confined and airtight as a coffin, to depart together to God in Heaven.

There are another kind of people who do not take Marxism seriously or do not want to study Marxism and Mao Zedong Thought at all. They either have forgotten the basic principles and methods of Comrade Mao Zedong's ideas on literature and art or think them not worth their consideration. They lightly cast them aside and rather go to the obsolete armoury of the bourgeoisie in search of weapons to study and solve the problems of life. As a result they confuse truth and falsehood as to even the most rudimentary historical events. For instance, some writers publicize abstract personalities in their works,

disregarding what is historically true and what is false. Some young people confine themselves to their own little world of individualism, singing sentimental, melancholic and obscurantist songs that are divorced from the people, or propagate sentiments of despair in life. Some have fallen under the influence of a decadent bourgeois mentality; with little stylistic skill and base sentiments they stuff their works with deceptive, artificial, absolutely false and vulgar love gimmicks. Worse ones even describe openly sex scenes of very low taste and portray sexual enticements and seductions.

There are also some other works which are politically unsound and of rather disreputable sentiments, which I will not list here. Words are the voice of the heart, and a man's personality is revealed by his writing. The problem of the ideological nature of a work reflects the problem in the world view of the writer. These problems are of course not representative of the mainstream of presentday literature and art workers, and even less representative of the great majority of literature and art workers. However, we have to give this matter a full measure of attention. In a negative sense this confirms that the task of remolding the world outlook of the literature and art workers is a very weighty one and has to be rather urgently moved on to the order of the day, demanding a serious effort at solution.

For quite a lengthy period of time people have been accustomed to understand remolding of the world view of literature and art workers as a reforming of their political stand. In actual fact the world view is the overall view regarding the whole outer world. Apart from the political viewpoint, it also comprises, for instance, views on nature, history, ethics, religion, art, esthetics, etc. It expresses a system of viewpoints. Under certain particular conditions, for instance in circumstances of extremely sharp class antagonism, the change of the political stand is of course important, but if the other aspects are ignored, it will inevitably be defective by its one-sidedness. Remolding the subjective world is a concept of much broader meaning. It comprises remolding of one's cognitive ability and a number of aspects in the relation between the subjective and objective. As applied to the literature and art workers, apart from the various things they have in common with people in general, they have some special peculiarities of their own. When we discuss the remolding of the subjective world of the literature and art workers, we must also touch on these special peculiarities. For instance, remolding of the cognitive ability must include raising the artistic sensibility, mastery of life, comprising the capacity for life. Of course, of primary importance here is the study and proficient mastery and application of the Marxist stand, view and method, that is, of the epistemology of dialectical materialism.

The remolding of the subjective world among the literature and art workers can only be realized through their participation in the practice of transforming the reality, which means, that they must plunge into the great struggle of the masses for the transformation of society and transformation of the world, and in this struggle achieve integration with the masses, primarily the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers. All this is beyond question, but we must under no circumstances overlook the function of the artistic practice of the literature and art workers in the process of

remolding the subjective world. The fact that their remolding has to pass through a participation in the struggle experience for the transformation of reality is something which the literature and art workers have in common with all other revolutionary people, but a special peculiarity of the literature and art workers is that they must include considerations of the effect of artistic practice in the process of remolding the subjective world. If we include in our considerations the stages of deep penetration of life and accumulation of materials and data, the artist's perception of life is not altogether the same as that of the common man's. For instance, he gives greater attention to the individual traits in people's natures and temperaments, he will observe more carefully all the details and cultivate an ability to impress all details on his memory. The sculptor will particularly observe the prominent features of a figure and reveal through these special outward features the soul of the many he portrays. The musician will especially note the sound and the waves of emotions transmitted by the sounds, etc. All artists, moreover, pay particular attention to the changes in man's inner life and give even greater attention to the fluctuations in man's emotions and the patterns of such emotions. Once entering on the stage of creation, the artist begins to refine and process the material that he gathered from life. This is a complex process of cognition, which comprises deepening of cognition and a leap from perceptual knowledge to rational knowledge. Innumerable examples in history prove that when writers and artists during the process of creation find themselves unable to go against the objective logic of life itself, they have no choice but to revise their original intentions and change or give up their personal bias. Lenin called this the victory of realism, but in actual fact what he talks about is precisely the influence of the practice of creation on the remolding of the subjective world of the artist. Apart from that, the artist must also include in his remolding of the subjective world through the practice of creation, the raising of his ability to epitomize life and show life in his art, raising his ability to appreciate art, his appreciation of beauty, his artistic proficiency, etc. The proverb says: "There is no limit to art," but in this context we may say that there is no limit to the remolding of the subjective world.

Our country is at present about to experience a new upswing, and the literary and art undertakings are also facing a new upswing. In order to be able to fulfill the mission that the party and the people have entrusted to us, and to create new socialist works of literature and art that are worthy of this great new era, we are determined to follow Comrade Mao Zedong's guidance and continuously remold our subjective world view concurrent with our efforts to change the objective world. We shall continue remolding as long as we live.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Congratulatory Speech at the Fourth Congress of Chinese Literature and Art Workers," see WENYIBAO [LITERATURE AND ART JOURNAL], November-December, 1979.
2. People's Publishing Company's offprint of July 1981, p 57.

3. "Speech at the National Congress of Propaganda Workers of the CCP," in "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 5, p 409.
4. "Circular of the CCP Central Committee" dated 16 May 1966.
5. "Speech at the Symposium on Literature and Art Work and Congress of Feature Film Producers," in "Zhou Enlai on Literature and Art," People's Publishing Company, February 1979, p 90.

9808

CSO: 4005/1071

PARTY AND STATE

NEED TO REMOVE DANGER OF PEACEFUL EVOLUTION EMPHASIZED

Taiyuan TAIYUAN RIBAO in Chinese 21 Jul 82 p 3

[Article by Ma Zhiying [7456 1807 5391]: "Old Topic Is Still Worthy of Discussion"]

[Text] How to prevent the "peaceful evolution" was a topic initiated more than 20 years ago. When RENMIN RIBAO recently carried a commentator's article reviving this topic, some comrades called it a meaningless "rehash of an old topic" while others went even so far as to ask: Isn't it true that the agonizingly horrible 10-year civil strife was started under the banner of preventing the "peaceful evolution"? As far as the party's guiding ideology is concerned, the mistake of the "Great Cultural Revolution" in reality resulted from the incorrect analysis of the situation at that time and the overestimation of the danger of the "peaceful evolution" rather than from the motivation to prevent it. Particularly noteworthy was the false assumption on the existence of the so-called revisionist line at central and local levels, which subsequently led people to believe that the danger of the "peaceful evolution" could not be removed unless the masses were mobilized to launch a large-scale turbulent class struggle involving those at the top and those at the bottom. The "Great Cultural Revolution" finally brought a disaster to the nation when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" deliberately capitalized on this slogan as a vehicle for stirring up waves and storms and for distorting the truth as part of a conspiracy to usurp the power.

Although, at present, the dictatorship of the proletariat is really as solid as rock in our country, and the four modernizations program is progressing steadily, under no circumstances can we sit back and relax because the soil and condition of inducing the peaceful evolution still exist in our country. Politically, the class struggle will continue to exist to a certain degree for a long time to come. Economically, the lack of progress in production, the scarcity of material supplies, and the continued existence of currency as the medium of exchange will constitute an obstacle to any quick effort to eliminate such unlawful activities as speculation, embezzlement and the practice of bribery. Ideologically, we still face constant threats from the decadent bourgeois ideology, anarchism promoted by the petite

bourgeoisie, and the tendency to worship everything foreign and fawn on foreigners. Particularly noteworthy is the foreign bourgeois ideology which is bound to make its corrosive influence felt in our country as a result of the implementation of the open door policy. Under such circumstances, those weak-minded Communist Party members and state cadres will find themselves unable to resist the bourgeois attacks with sugar-coated bullets and will become degenerate. As a matter of fact, the current criminal activities in the economic field have proved to be more alarming than in the period of struggles against "three evils" and "five evils" more than 30 years ago. Therefore, it is not a sensational talk but an objective fact that the danger of the "peaceful evolution" still exists in our country. In the course of preventing people from committing the mistake of overestimating the danger of the "peaceful evolution," we can in no way deny its objective existence. To deny it, we may repeat the mistake of throwing out the baby with the bath water, a mistake once scoffed at by Engels.

9574

CSO: 4005/1255

PARTY AND STATE

CPPCC'S ROLE IN MODERNIZATION, UNITED FRONT WORK DISCUSSED

Urumqi XINJIANG GENZITI in Chinese 10 Jul 82 p 1

[Article by Xing Zhenshan [6717 2182 1472]: "CPPCC Xinjinag Committee Holds a Forum on Its Role in Modernization"]

[Text] From 29 June to 5 July, the CPPCC Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Regional Committee held a forum in Urumqi, discussing its work. The forum was attended by comrades responsible for the daily operation of the CPPCC committees at prefectural, municipal and county levels, and their administrative workers.

At its opening session, Zhang Shigong [1728 0013 0501], chairman of the CPPCC Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Regional Committee, delivered a speech on the purpose and significance of this forum.

During the forum, a responsible comrade of the united front work department of the regional party committee, conveyed to its participants the essence of Comrade Hu Yaobang's important speech to the national united front work conference, and principal guidelines of the national united front work conference, the united front work conference of the Xinjiang autonomous regional party committee, and the ninth national religious work conference in a speech emphasizing the nature of CPPCC, and its task and role. His speech was followed by reports by the CPPCC committees of the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, Urumqi and Hami Municipalities, and Qira, Shufu, Qitai, Huocheng and Awat Counties on their work and experiences in developing political consultative activities, on the activities of their work teams, on national religions, and on the compilation of cultural and historical information.

The forum pointed out: During the past several years, the CPPCC committees at all levels throughout the region have continued to establish work teams and improve their operation, and restore their administrative functions. In the course of actively developing political consultative activities, and bringing their democratic supervisory role into play, they have guided their members to study theory, to strengthen self-education, to implement the party's nationality and religious policies, and to enhance unity among people of all nationalities. They have done a great deal in the direction of establishing work teams, and conducting joint or special investigative

and research projects. They have also played an active role in mobilizing all positive factors to consolidate and develop the situation of political stability and unity in the region, and to speed up the readjustment of the economy and the development of the four modernizations program. Under the centralized leadership of local party committees, and in close coordination with the united front work and other departments, they are determined to bring their subjective initiative into full play, to take swift action to broaden the prospect of CPPCC work, and to strive to make new contributions to the nation.

Leading comrades on the autonomous regional party committee including Gu Jingsheng [6253 2529 3932], Tomur Dawamat [6993 2606 1422 6671 3907 6314 2251], Huang Luobin [7806 5102 2430], cordially received comrades attending the forum. In his speech, Comrade Gu Jingsheng endorsed achievements by CPPCC committees at all levels throughout the region, while encouraging comrades attending this forum to bear in mind its guidelines upon their return to their original posts, guidelines which will help them achieve greater success in various fields of CPPCC work.

A-Bu-Lie-Zi Mu-He-Ma-Ti [7093 0008 0441 2606 0678 6314 2251], vice chairman of the CPPCC Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Regional Committee, delivered a speech at the closing session of the forum. After commenting on the basic proceedings of the forum and its major achievements, he pointed out: The future tasks of CPPCC committees at all levels throughout the region are: to continue the present efforts to promote the overall development of CPPCC work in close coordination with the four modernizations program as the central task; to make conscientious efforts to promote political consultative activities, and to make CPPCC play a more democratic role in overseeing the major functions of the national political life and other activities; to take effective measures to implement the party's nationality policy, strengthen unity among people of all nationalities, develop the situation of political stability and unity in the region, and accelerate the development of our high-level socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization; to educate CPPCC members of all nationalities and people from all walks of life in the four basic principles, and to take prompt action to organize them to study the party's principles and policies, and professional and theoretical knowledge; to strengthen self-education and stimulate their enthusiasm for participation in the four modernizations program; to improve the administrative system of CPPCC work teams, and develop various activities aimed at bringing vitality to CPPCC work; to promote the development of the propaganda and liaison work aimed at Taiwan as a contribution to the realization of the great cause of returning Taiwan to the embrace of our motherland and reunifying them by peaceful means; to strengthen the task of salvaging and compiling cultural and historical materials; to take the initiative to place CPPCC work under the leadership of party committees as a further step to improve this work.

The forum was also attended by many other vice chairmen of the CPPCC Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Regional Committee, including Meng Shulin [1322 2885 2651], Ya-He-Fu-Da-Mao-La [3660 0678 1129 3029 2139], Sha-De-Er-A-Ji [3097 1795 1422 7093 0679], Qi Chengde [3344 2110 1795], An-Ni-Wa-Er-Han-Ba-Ba [1344 1441 3907 1422 3063 1572 1572], Hu-Sai-Yin Si-Ya-Ba-Ye-Fu [5170 6457 7299 2448 3660 1572 0048 1133], Kang-Ba-Er-Han Ai-Mai-Ri [1660 1572 1422 3063 5337 6314 2251], and Han Youwen [7281 2589 2429].

PARTY AND STATE

IMPORTANCE OF IDEOLOGICAL WORK DISCUSSED

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 16 Jul 82 p 2

[Article by Zhen Hua [2182 5478]: The Validity of Ideological Work"]

[Text] In the factories and mines, whenever the workers talk about ideological and political work, one can often hear this sort of view: "At present, the old methods are not viable and the new methods are not clear. It is difficult!" Some comrades even use this as an excuse to argue for and explain their own relaxation in ideological work. Is this kind of explanation correct or not? A discussion on this would prove to be very worthwhile.

What are the "old methods" then? Here we must clearly distinguish two different situations: One is referring to the way of the "left" in past political movements; the other is the good tradition of our party's ideological and political work. The former is definitely not viable today. But the latter is still very viable and ought to be continued and developed. For example, a young woman worker of Fu Hua [4395 5478] silk factory in Hangzhou City, for some time, suffered from emotional problems. Consequently, both the quality and quantity of her work declined. Through home visits the core cadres of her unit learned that this young woman worker had become involved with some undesirable friends. After work, they would often get together to spend the evening. Therefore, the cadres, on the one hand, proceeded patiently to educate her ideologically, pointing out the harm and dangers of her off-work activities while, on the other hand, accompanying her home each day after work in order to prevent that group of "friends" from bothering her. The cadres persisted for more than a month and finally were able to persuade this young woman worker to change her wayward manners. This is an accomplishment of ideological and political work. What ought to be brought out from this incident is that the cadres' method is exactly what our party often employed in the past, e.g., home visits, heart-to-heart talks, or the method of "one key for one lock"! Who is to say that this kind of old method is "not valid"?

Moreover, the saying of "new methods unclear" is also incorrect. Since the Third Plenum of the party, after going through restoring order in the middle of chaos, our party line, directions and policies have returned

to the Marxist track. It should be said that the direction of the present ideological work is sure and clear: strive to enhance the people's ability to understand and reform the objective world, stimulate everyone's socialist enthusiasm, carry out concurrently the construction of the "two civilizations." Recently, many factories in our province have obtained comparatively good results by employing the method of balancing and comparing accounts; and by using themselves as examples to educate their workers on economic situations. This method of education in economic development is the method of comparing and contrasting recollections of the party's ideological work applied under the new historical conditions. In fact, there are many "new methods." The most important thing is to put them into practice and from practice discover new and innovative ways. If we don't get into action, then even the best method will not be viable.

Of course, ideological and political work is a branch of science. Contemporary ideological and political work also has its characteristics and discipline. It is certainly not easy to carry out the work well. The saying puts it right: "Light, not illuminated, will not shine. Words, not said, will not clarify." Ideological and political work, not carried out, will not bear fruit. If only we can fully realize the significance of ideological work, understand well the new situation, study new problems, summarize new experiences and devote time and effort to its implementation, we will definitely overcome difficulties and achieve results.

9519

CSO: 4005/1140

PARTY AND STATE

SIGNIFICANCE OF 'DUAL STRIVE' MOVEMENT OUTLINED

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 15 July 82 p 4

[Article by ZHEJIANG RIBAO commentator: "Commentary on Developing the 'Dual Strive' Movement"]

[Text] At present, various areas throughout the province are following the instructions of the Provincial Party Committee to further deploy and develop the contesting activities in "striving to build up advanced party branches; striving to become excellent party members." This is an important measure to rectify party work style and increase the party's combat effectiveness. Party organizations at various levels must take these activities seriously.

Viewed from the experience of the units which have already launched the "dual strive" activities, "dual strive" can correct the bad tendency toward "advanced units are not that great; those falling behind are not that embarrassed," and can exercise the important function of motivating in its entirety, the party's organizational work at the basic level. It is an honor to be called a party member, be it during the revolutionary struggles of the past or construction work of the present and future. Every party member, in every aspect of his work and in every battlefield, ought to influence and lead the masses with his own exemplary actions in order to accomplish various missions assigned to him by the party and enable the undertakings of the party to forge ahead victoriously. During the 10 years of internal turmoil, educational work directed toward party members had been relaxed due to the serious destruction brought about by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." A considerable portion of the party members have not fulfilled their functions as party members should. At present, in developing the "dual strive" movement, our objective is, through mutual exchange of knowledge and experience among party branches and among party members, to evoke political enthusiasm and stimulate revolutionary spirit to enable communist party members to better exercise their functions as vanguard models and party organizations to better fulfill their function as effective fighting forces. Those advanced individuals who feel that being party members they are already of the working class themselves and no longer need to again develop "dual strive" are those lacking in understanding and knowledge of the above-mentioned situation and objectives. Of course, in overall terms, a good majority of our party members are definitely advanced as well as

excellent members. But we must also admit that there are differences among members: members who have high or low levels of communist consciousness; members who are heavily or barely influenced by non-proletarian ideology; and there are qualified and unqualified members. Thorough development of "dual strive" movement is beneficial to the universal enhancement of ideological consciousness among party members and to giving full play to the vanguard model functions of party member. Upon introducing the "dual strive" activities to the Fu Hua [4395 5478] factory, notable results have been achieved.

What also needs to be pointed out here is that we should utilize the development of "dual strive" as a link to connect together various tasks of the basic-level party organizations. The experience of various places have proven that, whenever "dual strive" activities are carried out in combination with the party's central mission, with one section linked closely to the next and emphasis on practical results, our efforts will penetrate deep; they will endure and bear fruits. Therefore, party organizations at all levels, in deploying and formulating plans for "dual strive" activities, must spur on the basic-level organizational work of educating members, organizing construction projects, setting daily priorities, etc in accordance with the requirements of the party's central mission and upper level party organization, stressing different areas at different periods of time.

We firmly believe that, so long as party organizations at all levels and the vast number of communist members enthusiastically and consciously join in the "dual strive" movement, modestly studying and striving to become advanced members, the communist ideological awareness of party members will definitely and speedily be enhanced, and the vanguard model function of party members as well as the combat function of party organizations will definitely be more efficiently brought into play.

9519

CSO: 4005/1140

PARTY AND STATE

EXAMPLE OF INCORRUPTIBLE OFFICIAL PRAISED

Hangzhou ZHENJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 16 Jul 82 p 1

[Article by Zhou Xingta [0719 2502 2848] and Shen Limin [3088 0448 3046]: "The Unopenable 'Iron Gate'--Record of Yeuqing Country Public Security Cadre Lin Jiayou's Achievements in Resisting Corruption"]

[Text] Lin Jiayou [2651 0163 0645], the cadre responsible for exit and entry visa applications in the Public Security Bureau of Yeuqing County, was transferred from Hangzhou to work in Yueqing in July of 1979. During more than 2 years, he has handled more than 100 exit visa cases. For exit visas which could properly be approved, he provided timely assistance to people in completing the procedures; for applications not in conformity with the rules, he steadfastly kept the "iron gate" closed.

In September of 1980, a relative of a Hong Kong overseas Chinese surnamed Gao came repeatedly to the office calling on Lin Jiayou to apply for her son to go and stay with his aunt in Hong Kong. Because the applications did not conform with the relevant policies and regulations, they were all denied by Lin Jiayou. Old Lin even patiently explained the refusals to the woman. To his surprise, she said to Old Lin: "Policies are dead. People are alive. Just raise your hand a little and it will go through." Old Lin said: "The policies are hard as iron and cannot be circumvented. How can I casually disregard them?" Several days later, the woman, inviting a cadre relative to accompany her, again sought out Lin Jiayou at his home and said: "A letter has come from Hong Kong. Take a look." Old Lin was handed a stuffed and bulging envelope. He had only pulled the letter out halfway when he discovered that the inside contained a stack of 5-yuan notes. Old Lin immediately understood. He flung it back to her, making a "bang" sound on the table, and gravely said: "Your way of doing things is wrong. If your application was in accord with the policies, we would process it for you without delay; if it was not in accord with the policies, even a gold house will not move me to process the application for you, not to mention money placed inside an envelope."

Lin Jiayou is native to the area. Some people, after realizing that money and material gifts would not help them through the "door," resort to seeking out his friends and relatives through every means. In April of this year,

a person whom he knew well came calling, saying there was a relative surnamed Zhang applying to go to Hong Kong to stay with her husband and asked her assistance in handling the exit procedures. Old Lin said: "For this matter ask her to come to the office to make an application herself. After she clarifies the relationship she has with those abroad, we will process the case according to policy." The old acquaintance then spoke up: "Her family already talked it over. If only you will assist in approving the application, they will give you a 17-inch television..." Old Lin replied: "If the purpose of your relative's application to visit Hong Kong is a sound one, it can be approved according to policy. Why then must one incur such a large cost? Ask her to bring along the documents and take a trip over here herself!" The third day, the woman surnamed Zhang brought in her commune registered marriage certificate and copies of her so-called identity papers for visiting Hong Kong. Old Lin, upon questioning and inspecting the documents, was certain that the grounds for the application were insufficient. He then explained the relevant policies to her, making clear that without qualifications, no one can leave the country. The same day at dusk, Old Lin had just returned home when he discovered that his old acquaintance had sent him a carton of English namebrand cigarettes. His wife seriously refused them at the time, but the friend left them and departed. The next day, Old Lin took the cigarettes to the office and handed them over to the organization for disposition.

The most thorny problem Lin Jiayou encountered was that, some people, lacking exit requirements and seeing that money and expensive gifts would not move him, tried each and every means to go through other leaders to "do the job" on their behalf. Faced with such a situation, Lin Jiayou's ideological struggle was more intense. "If I handle the applications in compliance with these leaders' wishes, things would naturally go better for me. But such conduct would forsake the inherent principles of the party. How can a member of the Communist Party involve himself in matters which are harmful to the interest of the country?" Therefore, he determinedly held on to one principle. Even if he "offended" some of the leaders, he still could not disregard national policies. Old Lin also thought that some leaders were not necessarily fully conversant with the relevant policies of external affairs, yet were often entrusted by others to come in to speak in their favor. Encountering such a situation, Lin would bring together the circumstances of people requesting exit visas and, explaining the policies and regulations to the appropriate leaders, was able to obtain their understanding and support.

As for those people who sent gifts to Lin Jiayou, they did not necessarily harbor bad intentions. Some relatives of nationals living abroad, seeing Lin Jiayou handle matters impartially and diligently, and promptly complete the procedures for exiting the country for them, are deeply grateful and inevitably think of sending a little present to him. Even in cases when gifts were presented purely from good intentions, Lin Jiayou would not accept a cent. Whether the gift was substantial or inconsequential, something to eat or use, Lin Jiayou, without a single exception, gently and politely declined it.

PARTY AND STATE

IMPARTIALITY IN HANDLING ECONOMIC CRIMES URGED

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 4 Aug 82 p 4

[Article by Chu Yunfei [2806 0061 7378]: "The Iron Style"]

[Text] In the course of struggling against corruption and rectifying the party style, the newspapers often publish reports praising the "iron disciplinary committee," "iron mayor," "iron secretary" and "iron magistrate." It is most encouraging. With the continuous emergence of group after group of "backbone elements," can there be any doubt of the basic improvement of the party style?

These advanced organizations and superior elements have a point in common: To defend the party's principles, whether toward the public or the private, they fear no pressure and remain impartial and incorruptible. Therefore, when referring to them, the masses warmly add the word "iron." Not just approval, but it has a deep meaning.

Iron is an ordinary but hard metal. When the masses add the word "iron" to the disciplinary committee, mayor, secretary and magistrate who uphold principles, the purpose is to encourage a sort of "iron style," with the hope that these "backbone elements" of our party will be ordinary like iron, always remaining among the masses, and hard like iron, always standing on the forefront in defense of the interest of the party and the people.

The "iron style" has always been the tradition of our party and our army. Our people's army, in the past 55 years, has always been extolled as the "iron flow" and "iron army." It is the model of the "iron style." "The iron flows 25,000 li, straight toward a firm direction;" "marching east, marching east, we are the iron New Fourth Army." Whenever these magnificent melodies resound in our ears, the firm and staunch image of the people's warrior seems to emerge before our eyes, inspiring and encouraging us to strive. This "iron style" manifests itself in the iron will to always serve the people heart and soul, in the conscious observance of the iron discipline, in the iron unity of the revolutionary ranks....

the "iron disciplinary committee," "iron mayor," "iron secretary" and "iron magistrate" emerging today are, in the final analysis, also the continuation and development of the traditional style of our party and our army.

Nevertheless, in the new historical period, the "iron style" has grown in substance. Today, whether a cadre possesses the "iron style" naturally may be tested in face of an armed enemy, but in face of the struggle against corruption, whether he has the courage to remain impartial and incorruptible, ignore sensibilities, brush aside the entanglement of "relations" and struggle against the corrosion of the capitalist ideology and all evils is an even harsher test. A victory has been won in the first battle against the serious criminal activities in the economic realm, but we must continue to exert ourselves and vigorously investigate and handle the major and serious cases. Among those committing major and serious crimes, there are scoundrels within the units as well as the dregs of society. The scoundrels in the units are often the old superior, old subordinate, old colleague, old friend... of certain comrades. Under this situation, should we be softhearted and lenient toward the old superior, old subordinate, old colleague and old friend, or should we uphold the "iron style" like the "iron disciplinary committee" and "iron mayor?" The decision is most crucial to the question of whether the struggle can be intensified.

I once came across a couplet which read: "If you want to know what is at the bottom of our hearts, just look at our lifelong iron will." At the time I did not understand it clearly and felt that it lacked "gentleness and warmth." Only after I gained more experience later on did I realize that, if a person does not uphold principles, there is no need to discuss gentleness and warmth. Encouraging the "iron style" is to encourage adherence to the party's principles. It should serve as a crucial yardstick to determine whether a person has the greatest love for the party and the people.

PARTY AND STATE

SERIOUS POLITICAL INCIDENT REPORTED IN FEIXIANG COUNTY

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 17 Jul 82 p 1

[Article: "Hebei Party Committee Takes Serious Action Against a Small Number of People for Disrupting Party Congress Elections"]

[Text] During the third party congress elections in Feixiang County in Hebei Province in the middle of January, those who had come to power at the time of the "Great Cultural Revolution," who resented being stripped of this power and influence after the smashing of the "gang of four," who were bent on creating factionalism, and who had an ax to grind after having been disciplined for aggrandisement of power created a serious political incident through the disruption of democratic elections by putting up anonymous big character posters and scrolls. Taking a serious view of this incident, the leadership of the Central Committee instructed the Hebei Provincial Party Committee to investigate and to deal severely with the offenders. Toward the end of March, the Hebei Party Committee and the Party Committee of Handan Prefecture assigned a work team to investigate this serious incident, and by the middle of May, had taken initial steps to dispose of the cases of Lu Guotai [6424 0948 1132], Li Molin [2621 1075 2651] and Wang Haibo [3769 3189 3134] who instigated the incident.

The targets of attack in this serious political incident were Chen Wei [7115 5588], secretary of the county party committee, who had distinguished himself in the enforcement of the line laid down by the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, and other comrades. Chen Wei was appointed secretary of the Feixiang County Party Committee in March, 1980. After having assumed his duties, he, together with Wang Tianzeng [3769 1131 1113], deputy secretary of the county party committee and magistrate of the county and others, conducted an investigation of those who had committed serious offenses by engaging in beatings, smashings, looting, house-raiding and kidnapping during the "Great Cultural Revolution," stripped them of their leadership positions, imposed legal sanctions against a small number of serious offenders, rehabilitated and exonerated hundreds of persons in the county who had been falsely accused, and went about the work of implementing the policies of the party throughout the county in a creditable manner. At the same time, they dealt sternly with the six typical cases of improper practices indulged in by certain secretaries of commune party committees, certain standing members of county party committees and deputy

chiefs of county revolutionary committees. They have also done a great deal of work creditably in the enforcement of various forms of the agricultural production responsibility system and in the resumption and development of production. Because of that, they incurred the displeasure and enmity of Lu Guotai, Li Molin and Wang Haibo.

In early November of last year, the Feixiang County Party Committee called a preparatory meeting to discuss the holding of the third party congress of the county. At that time, in contravention of the principles of the party organization, Lu Guotai and Li Molin, deputy magistrates of the county, and Wang Haibo, assistant manager of the cotton and ramie company of the supply and marketing cooperative of the county, engaged in secret conspiracies forbidden by the party constitution, put up big character posters bearing the signature "political guardians" along the streets of the cities in the county attacking without a scintilla of truth Chen Wei and other comrades. Ten days later, Wang Haibo and his cohorts, taking advantage of the holding of a meeting of the district, county and commune cadres called by the district party committee at Yongnian County, put up anonymous big character posters leveling false charges against Chen Wei and others. Two weeks later, these same people posted a third big character poster at the gate of the headquarters of the district party committee. It was during this period that Chen Wei and others received several written threats and abusive letters and even threats of assassination. On the eve of the party congress elections, these people distributed handbills along the main streets leveling trumped up charges against Chen Wei in order to alienate him from the local cadres. While big character posters were being put up and handbills distributed, they gave a number of dinner parties to canvas for votes and to manipulate the elections. As a result, Chen Wei and other comrades failed to be elected. Some of the comrades were only elected alternate members of the county party committee, while those who managed to be elected members of the county party committee won by a slim margin. One and a half months after the party congress, these same people again put up anonymous big character posters attacking a certain comrade whom they resented, with the purpose of seducing the masses and of ousting him from Feixiang County. He was, nevertheless, elected. There were some among those who engaged in such illegal activities who were taken in and victimized because their line of thinking differed from that of the party.

The "elections" held by the party congress in Feixiang County have had a deleterious effect on the basic level organizations, the large number of party members and the masses. During the subsequent party congress convened in the various communes, there were many who openly engaged in conspiracy, who undercut each other, and who scrambled for votes in an unscrupulous manner. By putting up big character posters, they have caused serious damage to the prestige of the party among the masses.

The salient facts behind this serious political incident have been unearthed following in-depth investigations conducted by work teams of the provincial and district party committees. On 20 April, the Hebei Provincial Party Committee declared the "elections" in contravention of party rules and regulations and therefore null and void. It reinstated Chen Wei as secretary

of the county party committee, organized a new corps of leaders in the county party committees, and handed down temporary injunctions against Lu Guotai, Li Molin and Wang Haibo who were the chief instigators of the incident. The provincial and district party committees are about to make a final ruling on the incident in accordance with the organizational principles of the party and to sum up the lessons derived from the experience.

9621

CSO: 4005/1175

PARTY AND STATE

ARTICLE URGES STRENGTHENING RURAL IDEOLOGICAL, POLITICAL WORK

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 30 Jul 82 p 2

[Commentary: "We Must Strengthen Ideological and Political Work"]

[Text] In recent years, the state of slackening and weakening of ideological and political work appeared in some rural areas. An important explanation for this is that some comrades feel that after the various policies had been implemented in the rural areas, in particular after the promotion of the system of responsibility in agricultural production, the peasants' activism was raised, and ideological and political work was no longer a concern and could therefore be slighted. The article, entitled "Be Good at Giving Systematic Guidance," in today's paper indicated that this attitude is incorrect.

Political work is the lifeline of economic work. We must pay great attention to ideological and political work and must propagate the party's line and general and specific policies in the light of the reality of a place, so as to mobilize fully the masses' enthusiasm and enable economic work to develop in the right direction. In the Fuyuan production brigade, there emerged the tendency to fell timber and carelessly exploit the forest. This was because some people misunderstood the implementation of the system of responsibility to mean division of farmland and individual farming. If the party branch of the production brigade did not conduct ideological education and correct this erroneous tendency without delay and nip it in the bud, then the evil tendency to fell timber and carelessly exploit the forest would become a reality. Many places have learned grave lessons in this regard.

Furthermore, carrying out production well and developing the economy require a state of stability and unity, a state which can only be consolidated and developed through firm ideological and political work. In socialist construction, disputes of all kinds are unavoidable, and most of these disputes are contradictions among the people which can be resolved through ideological and political work. Quan Yaozhi, a young commune member of the Fuyuan production brigade, did not attend to his proper duties, loafed about, engaged in pilfering and brought disgrace on his group. Needless to say harboring such a character would cause turmoil to a village and worry everyone. The party branch of the production brigade educated him and helped him to get rid of his evil habits. Public feeling became stable. The condition in the Fuyuan production brigade showed that ideological work on those who lagged behind was an important aspect in correctly handling the contradictions among the people and doing a good job of maintaining social order.

Here, we must give special praise to the party branch of the Fuyuan production brigade for boldly and skillfully handling sharp contradictions. In real life, we often find the following condition: Some ordinary affairs and contradictions which are not discovered and handled in time become intensified. When they are still not discovered or handled appropriately, the contradictions become even more acute. An ordinary affair becomes a crime, an ordinary contradiction among the people becomes an antagonistic contradiction. The Fuyuan production brigade had encountered similar situations before. The dispute between Quan Haitang and Quan Huitang over the foundation of their residence almost evolved into fighting and killing and could have resulted in murder. Fortunately, the party branch of the production brigade discovered it in time, carried out proper mediation, prevented a killing, and appropriately resolved the contradiction. We should learn from this experience.

Obviously, ideological and political work should only be strengthened and not weakened. The party branch of the Fuyuan production brigade has provided us with a good example.

9335

CSO: 4005/1169

PARTY AND STATE

INSPECTION WORK CONCERNING INTELLECTUALS UPGRADED

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 4 Aug 82 p 1

[Article: "Provincial Economic Committee Correction of the Phenomenon of Inspection of Intellectuals in the Perfunctory and Superficial Manner"]

[Text] In order to prevent and overcome the phenomenon of inspecting intellectuals in a perfunctory and superficial manner, the provincial economic committee recently reconsolidated the inspection organs, penetrated into the government departments and bureaus and basic-level units to carry out further inspection and proposed measures on how to improve the work whenever they discovered problems.

The 24 government departments and bureaus of the industrial and communication system directly under the provincial economic committee have over 10,000 high-level and middle-level intellectuals at and above the level of engineers. In the latter part of June, in the inspection reports sent from various offices and bureaus, the party organization of the provincial economic committee discovered the phenomenon of inspection work being done in a perfunctory and superficial manner in some units. It immediately redeployed, strengthened leadership, and established an organization for inspection. For over a month, the inspection group went separately to 39 basic-level units of 9 government departments and bureaus, convened various kinds of symposia on 43 separate occasions, and paid home visits to a portion of intellectuals. Through inspection, it discovered that the leadership of some units was still biased against intellectuals and was less than enthusiastic in the work of inspection. Some even felt that at present the position of the intellectuals is high enough and that they would become "rightist" if the implementation of policies was further emphasized. Some stressed that they were busy and asked individual cadres to just browse through old material and write up inspection reports perfunctorily. The inspection group picked out the files of 19 men in a certain bureau and found that the "political question" of 8 of them had not been checked. Among them, some had been long refuted by the higher level organizational departments. Some files were totally without supporting material and concluded that "after a long period of trial, this person cannot be promoted to shoulder important tasks." In a unit where there was a high concentration of intellectuals, not one intellectual joined the party in over a decade. An engineer had submitted his application to join the party in 1968. But his application laid in the bottom of the drawer of the desk of a leading comrade, and was not given any attention by anyone. In some units, the leading personnel who lacked

technical knowledge did not respect the opinions of the technical cadres, and continued to "give blind commands." For instance, in a unit, the engineering technicians suggested that the floating crane should not be overloaded. The administrative leadership said: "Here, what I say counts." He insisted on using a 5-ton floating crane to hoist 8 tons of goods. As a result, the machine broke down and work was terminated. In a certain harbor construction project, the leadership did not heed the suggestion of the scientific and technical personnel and carelessly increased the thickness of sand-spray. As a result, the loss of a huge sum of 50,000 yuan was incurred. On the question of continuing education for scientific and technical personnel, a prevalent phenomenon has been seen in the nine offices and bureaus under inspection, it is what the No 1 Light Industrial Office did in formulating a training program that ignored the investment of intelligence. In regard to working conditions and living conditions, some units "think highly of officials and look down on specialists" and care more about the leadership and less about the specialists. In housing distribution, the intellectuals were always given either the lowest stories or the highest stories. What was worse was that after the inspection work had begun, some units still retaliated against intellectuals.

In light of the above situation, the party organization of the provincial economic committee asked concerned offices and bureaus the following: They must adopt effective measures to conscientiously make up missed lessons, do their work well from start to finish and do a good job of the inspection of intellectuals. Through inspection, they should raise the ideological understanding of the leadership at various levels and eliminate "leftist" influence. They should thoroughly eliminate and resolve all the leftover political problems and not leave things behind. They must boldly use intellectuals well, select for leading posts at various levels, technical cadres with both ability and political integrity, with specialties and the ability in organization and leadership. They must carry out the method of analyzing typical cases of individual units and responsible persons who attack and boycott intellectuals, and use discretion in carrying out organization and management.

PARTY AND STATE

HENAN APPOINTS INTELLECTUALS TO LEADERSHIP POSITIONS

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 20 Aug 82 p 3

[Article: "Henan Province Actively Selects and Promotes Outstanding Middle-Aged and Younger Cadres"]

[Text] In response to the call for thorough and conscientious implementation of the party Central Committee's strategic policy of building up a contingent of revolutionary, well-educated, professionally competent and younger cadres, and for constant efforts to break with the old ideas and old conventions, the Henan Provincial CPC Committee and the Provincial People's Government have taken bold steps to select and appoint a number of outstanding middle-aged and younger cadres to fill the vacancies of the provincial, prefectural (municipal) and county level leading bodies of the party and government.

From 1980 to the end of June 1982, a total of 1,737 middle-aged and younger cadres at county and higher levels throughout Henan Province were selected for promotion. Among them were 3 appointees to the provincial level leading bodies of the party and government (including one 50-year-old member of the Standing Committee of the provincial party committee and 2 near 50-year-old vice governors); 60 near 50-year-old cadres appointed to the prefectural (municipal) leading bodies of the party and government, averaging 3.3 for each prefecture (municipality); 478 near 45-year-old appointees to the county (municipal) level leading bodies of the party and government, averaging 3.1 for each county (municipality).

This work of selecting and promoting outstanding middle-aged and younger cadres in Henan Province has been proceeding in a way that symbolizes a total break with the old ideas emphasizing seniority, and the nitpicking and attitude of contempt toward intellectuals. The Henan Provincial CPC Committee has repeatedly emphasized the need to display a daring spirit to break with the old ideas and to rectify the old ways of thinking so that the age and intellectual structures of the existing leading bodies can be changed to meet the current needs of the province.

In considering the targets of promotion, Henan Province has focused attention on professional and technical cadres, and has taken bold steps to select talent from among them for promotion, a departure from its past practice in emphasizing the selection of talent from among party and political cadres.

An investigation conducted by the organization department of the provincial party committee shows that the province now has more than 36,000 less than 45-year-old college graduates who are concentrated largely in scientific units and large enterprises. During the past 2 years or more, some 31 of them have been selected by 18 prefectures (municipalities) throughout the province as assistant commissioners and vice mayors who are now in their forties. Among them 22 are former factory directors, deputy factory directors, engineers and technicians of industrial and mining enterprises. After their promotion, these cadres have been allowed to take charge of departments with which they are familiar. The province has decided not to appoint these top-notch technical and professional "experts" not suited to overall leadership positions to the leading posts of the party and government but let them continue to devote themselves to their technical and professional work and bring their talent into full play. In the course of selecting them, the provincial party committee has adopted the method of cooperation between leadership and the masses, which emphasizes democratic recommendations through the organization of public opinion polls and surveys and screening and approval by the party committees as distinguished from its past approach of solely relying on a few persons of the organization department to propose a list of candidates based on personnel files or leading comrades to select associated cadres for promotion.

The Henan Provincial Party Committee insisted that the principle of combining ability with political integrity be upheld as a criterion for selecting cadres for promotion, and in doing so, "political integrity" (or revolutionization) be given first place in order of priorities. At the heart of the problem is whether successors to the revolutionary cause can truly uphold Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and unswervingly move in the socialist political direction. This is virtually a matter of deep concern to the revolutionaries of the older generation or a program of their concern for 100 years to come. In specifying the content of "political integrity," they want others to focus attention on the following three aspects: Candidates' performances during the "Cultural Revolution," especially during its later stage. Followers of the gang of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing, who gained power through rebellious activities, serious factional ideologies, and elements engaged in vandalism and robbery absolutely cannot be selected for promotion; candidates' attitude toward the political line, principles and policies adopted since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee; their ideological quality. With revolutionization as a prerequisite, they also consider such elements as professional and cultural knowledge and age essential to the selection process.

At present, efforts are being made by the province to work out plans for selecting and training outstanding middle-aged and younger cadres as a step forward in revolutionizing leading cadres at all levels.

PARTY AND STATE

ARTICLE DISCUSSES PROBLEMS OF FOREIGN GOODS INFLUX

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 13 Aug 82 p 8

[Article by Yang Qun [2799 6746]: "Foreign Goods and Chinese Goods"]

[Text] A few years ago, an evaluation of certain commodities led people to divide them into three categories of export commodities, commodities originally designed for export but later distributed for local consumption, and ordinary commodities. Export commodities were categorized as high quality products cherished by everyone but not available to the general public. Next came "commodities originally designed for export but later distributed for local consumption," commodities whose availability would be greeted as the good news by the buyers. There were many industrial goods which we could not produce in the past. Once they were introduced as "goods made in China," the consumers were delighted to use them. Many people were delighted, happy and proud to be the first to wear wrist watches made in China and to use "Panda" or "Red Lamp" radio sets. Everything our respected and beloved Premier Zhou wore was made in China, including his wrist watch. Over the past 30 years, we have used our own hands to lay a solid foundation for our national industry. Commodities "made in China" not only have made the Chinese people feel proud but also have drawn praise from consumers in other countries. Many of them have been considered as products that "people can trust."

During the past few years, this picture has undergone changes. After opening our door to foreigners, we have seen many foreign commodities flow into our country through various channels. Take Guangzhou for example. For a period, the market there was filled and dominated by foreign television sets, radio cassette recorders, refrigerators, electronic wrist watches, fashion designs, umbrellas, and nylon material. It was sad to see things "made in China" being crowded into a corner and ignored by some visitors.

It was certainly not the commodities themselves but the changes in the thinking of their sales agents and users that should be blamed for bringing about this change in commodity status.

Isn't it true that there are a lot of people who still regard the use of foreign goods as fashionable, and the use of Chinese goods as anachronistic, and people who even "take pride in everything foreign" and "are ashamed to

touch everything made in China" these days? Do those who want to smoke foreign cigarettes and drink foreign wine have any sense of honor or shame? Does this change in their thinking deserve our attention?

A few years ago, I heard someone tell me the following true story that drew "laughter": One day, upon arriving in a certain foreign city, one of our countrymen bought from a department store a high quality and majestic looking leather suitcase and considered it a good buy. But when he opened it, he saw "Made in China" inside. Another Chinese visitor to Hong Kong returned home with a few boxes of candies he bought from there as gifts for his friends. When he opened them, he saw the brand name of "Beijing Carmel" and "Shanghai Queen" inside. Upon hearing this, everyone laughed.

But what is going on now? Nobody will react with laughter upon hearing this story: The influx of a large quantity of refrigerators from abroad has forced their domestic counterparts to pile up in warehouses and their manufacturers to sell them at reduced prices. The import of a large number of foreign television sets has forced the state-contracted television plants to operate at far less than full capacity. I even heard things that sound more absurd. Although the state has imported advanced manufacturing technology from abroad for producing certain mining mechanical equipment and large-scale oxygen producing machines, they still find no buyers at home because some units using these types of equipment still insist on ordering them from abroad; and then allow foreign businessmen to manufacture them in China through contracts with domestic plants. Although this approach to suppress and stifle the growth of our national industry may draw "laughter" from foreign capitalists, it may anger, I am afraid, all Chinese people who love their country, and provoke them to protest instead of laughter.

By bringing this up for discussion, I do not want to give people the impression that I blindly want to reject everything foreign, and want to return the country to the days of the "gang of four" who wanted to wall the country off from foreigners. True, by enforcing the open door policy, we have given the economy a shot in the arm; certainly, the objective of this policy is to stimulate the development of our economy, a policy which is undoubtedly correct. It is absurd to note that some people deliberately have ignored the fact that we produce fountain pens, soft drinks, beer, and that our golden pens in the brand name of "hero" and our Qingtao beer have been exported to foreign countries and are now well known throughout the world. Despite this, some people are still interested in using foreign fountain pens while encouraging others to open "parker pen repair centers" everywhere. Does not this sound absurd?

Today, the people throughout the country are devoting themselves to building a material civilization. I worry whether a firm foundation can be laid for building our material civilization, if we continue to show no interest or faith in things "made in China" but are still obsessed with foreign goods. For this reason, it appears absolutely necessary for us to promote the development of a spiritual civilization as an answer to this problem.

PARTY AND STATE

AN END TO EXTRAVAGANT ENTERTAINMENT URGED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 22 Jul 82 p 8

[Article by Li Gong [4539 0361]: "How Should This 'Headache' Be Cured?"]

[Text] Reading the article "A Matter That Gives Me the Greatest Headaches--Being Entertained" in the eighth section of the 19 May RENMIN RIBAO induced in me a number of feelings, including the deep feeling that there is a need to consult with a doctor in order to alleviate the pain of those who have developed these "headaches."

Truthfully, I sympathize a little with comrades like Comrade Zhao Yuqin [6392 3768 3830] who have "headaches" over being entertained because, when compared with those who are happy "being entertained," are accustomed to "being entertained," and even take pride in it, they are for the most part truly concerned with the "Guiding Principles" of the party and the interests of the people.

Entertaining and being entertained are two sides of the same matter. If no one entertained in the first place, then those who thought they would be entertained would have nowhere to put their chopsticks. Of course, if no one would accept invitations, then those who sought to entertain would have no one to entertain. Among those who entertain and are entertained today, for some it is a case of "Zhou Yu attacking Huang Gai--both sides willing," and some are forced into it--some forced into entertaining and some forced into accepting invitations--with those forced into entertaining being in the majority. Because of this, the "headaches" of those who are forced to entertain are much more serious than those of the people who are forced to accept invitations.

According to my observations, in general, the reasons that those who entertain others do not extend beyond the following:

Some people use food and wine as bait, treating the person being entertained as the object of a hunt. If the person accepts the invitation, then he has been hooked and will be subject to manipulation. This kind of host harbors evil intentions and is the most detestable.

Some people are generous with public funds while indulging personal feelings--I'll treat you today, you treat me tomorrow--all using public funds to fill their own bellies.

The two types mentioned will not suffer "headaches" over entertaining.

"Headaches" go with the third type, who becomes frustrated in an effort to complete a task (including many reasonable and legal tasks that should be undertaken) and can only go along with things and use what is most effective in dealing with certain people--entertaining. Don't judge by the joyful exterior he puts on at the table; in his heart he is extremely agitated. Sometimes if you entertain one party, you must entertain another party. If just one of those whose cooperation is needed refuses to cooperate, then matters cannot be successfully concluded.

Well then, why should those who are being entertained suffer "headaches"? This is because in general there are three situations in which a person will be entertained: one is that the person is avaricious and willing to be hooked; another is that the person is embarrassed to refuse an invitation, wishing not to offend; and the third is that the person is dragged against his will, knowing full well that what is easily eaten can be hard to digest, and fearing that, along with the wine and the dishes, difficult topics will be raised. In general, those with the "headaches" are of the latter type.

But regardless of which type is concerned, they have this in common: those who do the entertaining want something and those being entertained have some authority. Those who are invited generally all have brains or hold real power to authorize actions or are able to speak in support of others. The hearts of some among those who love to be entertained are hard indeed. They will use any means in order to get others to entertain them--speaking openly or dropping hints, "the keeper of the gates of hell cares not if the souls are thin"--and they won't stop until they reach their goal.

It is strange to say, but entertaining is a very effective method for some: once the wine is poured, policies open up, demands are met and everything is easily taken care of. Matters that haven't been completed in 3 years can be settled during one evening's entertaining; one informal note can take the place of an official document full of authorized signatures. But once such a method is successful, the policies of the party, the plans of the state and socialism itself cease to be viable. If we allow this method to work, then "headaches" will proliferate.

Now, many people say that this improper workstyle must be done away with, but they think that it will not be easy. The difficulty lies in the fact that some leading agencies and cadres cannot take the initiative in making corrections and resisting matters. If the leaders and every party member and every cadre at every level would show a little courage and neither entertain nor allow themselves to be entertained, then there would be no problem. If everyone would begin with himself, we could naturally put a stop to the problem. Recently I heard of a comrade in charge of a local party committee in Honan Province who, once he took his post, announced that he would not be entertained, but the first time he visited a commune in the countryside, the commune secretary arranged a dinner. The comrade not only left without dining, but he also personally wrote a notice about the affair. Since that time, no one has dared

to extend an invitation to him. It seems to me that his method was quite effective. Departments in charge of inspection of discipline and of finances should be bold in going after those who love to take advantage of others and rely on toasts at dinners to make deals, and those with real authority of the "bureaucrat" and "people in charge" type, and see to it that those who accept so many invitations cannot keep down that which they should not have eaten. In regard to those who do the entertaining, they should strictly implement a rule of "whoever notices should collect."

Although there are many difficulties involved, there are even more benefits to be gained. We should take advantage of the wind from the East constructing a spiritual civilization to blow down the corrupt customs of many years and establish a new style!

9705

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PARTY AND STATE

BRIEFS

CRACKDOWN ON ECONOMIC CRIMES--The CPC Zhejiang provincial committee recently assigned 17 leading cadres of the department and bureau levels and 30 plus organ cadres to the various areas in the province to help in cracking down on serious criminal activities in the economic realm, reinforce the strengths in case handling and directly take part in the investigation and disposal of major and serious cases. Previously, the provincial party committee had already sent 15 leading cadres of the department and bureau levels and 70 plus organ cadres to Wenzhou, Huangyan and Hangzhou to assist in the handling of major and serious cases. Besides further reinforcing the case handling strengths of the Wenzhou, Hangzhou and Taizhou areas, the recently assigned cadres will proceed to the Lishui, Jiaxing, Jinhua, Ningbo, Zhoushan and Shaoxing areas, the Quzhou chemical plant and the Changguang coal mines to inspect and supervise and directly take part in the investigation and disposal of the major cases. On 7 August, provincial party committee assistant secretary Xue Ju [5641 7467] and others explained to the departing cadres the status of the struggle against the serious economic criminal activities throughout the province and posed demands on their work upon arrival at their destinations. [Text] [Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 10 Aug 82 p 1] 6080

CSO: 4005/1259

APPROPRIATE TYPE OF 'CONTENTION' DELINEATED

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 22 Jul 82 p 3

[Article by Huang Shuquan [7806 2579 3123]: "What Type of 'Contention' Do We Need"]

[Text] Contention over a literary work has prevailed since antiquity; it is inevitable. Just as Mr Lun Xun said: "When there is a forum, contention is inevitable." During recent years, the debate over Wang Meng's [3769 5536] works, the debate over Shu Ting's [5289 1250] poetry, and the debate over such novels as "The Maples," "Love, It Is Unforgettable," upto "The Survivors," "The Unbreakable Red Silk Thread," etc., have not only enlivened the democratic atmosphere in the literary circles and promoted literary creation, but also, through such debates, the perception and reflection on the part of both the authors and the critics in respect to certain things likewise have deepened a degree further, and thereby enable literature to develop in a healthy direction. Practice indicates: the literary circles require continued contention.

However, we should also see that in our present "contention" there also exists this kind of tendency: contending for contention's sake. A literary product necessarily has some new characteristics in its subject selection, intent, content and form, and attempts to offer some new explorations; on these people may have different ideas, and hence a debate is naturally incurred. If, through such debate, "a neither overly complimentary, nor overly depreciative, but highly pertinent appraisal is won" (in Mao Dun's words) or, while people's views cannot be unified, two contradictory views become clearer and through analysis and comparison people are also enabled to understand certain questions therefrom, then such debate is worthy. But the "contention" in certain journals and newspapers of today by no means gives one an opportunity to appreciate its necessity. The subject selection, intent, content and form of these debated works seem all quite ordinary; or certain works may seem to have proposed a new problem, but such "newness" by no means requires any debate because it is acceptable to most people. However, certain journals and newspapers are somehow making a mountain out of a molehill over such works, and doing their "contending" with gusto. I do not understand whether this is a case wherein certain journal and newspaper editors have artificially aroused some "contention" so as to create a false atmosphere of liveliness and hustling-bustling, or whether certain critics simply have nothing to do. Since the space and coverage of these journals and newspapers are so limited, why can't such useless contention be reduced so that more space and coverage can be allocated to the publication of good works and critical essays that are really insightful?

A situation contrary to the above is this: in certain journals and newspapers certain works of low taste and conspicuous mistakes which are somehow oddly written have become the center of such contention. There are certain kinds of writers whose attitude of creation is by no means serious; they have no intention of seeking truth from facts but plenty of inclination to please the general public with claptrap; for the sake of making their works seem out of the ordinary, attracting people's attention, and arousing "contention," they purposely fabricate some sensational themes and contrive some strange stories so that their contents are a sham, and they also pay no more attention to their taste. Such works have no content fraught with rich social contradictions or singular artistic forms worthy of people's contention; can they be worthy of our contention in the case of false, preposterous stories that can be spotted at a simple glance, of pathological psychological displays, of sensually stimulating descriptions, and of gloomy, downcasting styles? Unfortunately, such works are often picked as objects of contention by certain of our editors and critics, as they are just what they want. If they think that so long as a work brandishes something "new" and "different" it can immediately be taken as an object of contention, then what propensity would our journals and newspapers have? And what criteria of right and wrong would our literary criticism still be able to follow? Would not certain critics feel that engaging in a "litigation of the pen" over such works results only in raising their status?

The literary circles do require contention, but what is needed is that beneficial contention which really propels literature to develop in the correct direction.

9255

CSO: 4005/1126

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

PROMOTION OF TEACHERS OF HIGHER SCHOOLS DISCUSSED

Beijing GAOJIAO ZHANXIAN [HIGHER EDUCATION FRONT] in Chinese No 3, Mar 82
pp 4-7

[Article by Gao Yi [7559 3085]: "Conscientiously Perform the Work of Promoting Teachers of Higher Schools"]

[Text] In regard to the promotion of teachers of higher schools, after the State Council promulgated the "Temporary Provisions on the Titles of Teachers of Higher Schools and Their Definition and the Method of Promotion" in February 1960, some schools, by 1963, defined and promoted a group of assistants, lecturers, associate professors and professors. Subsequently, the work was interrupted for more than a decade by the "leftwing" ideological influence and the 10-year turmoil. In March 1978, the Party Central Committee and the State Council decided to resume the work. It was a crucial decision to bring order out of chaos, implement the party's intellectuals policy, build up the higher school teaching ranks and develop China's higher education.

In the past 3 years, the party committees, higher education departments and higher schools of the various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions implemented the policy of "adhering to standards, ensuring quality, making comprehensive assessments and selecting the superior for promotion," performed large volumes of work, basically solved the problems in teacher promotion accumulated through the years and made great achievements. According to preliminary statistics through the end of 1981, over 145,000 teachers throughout the nation were defined and promoted as lecturers or above, approximately equivalent to 3.9 times the number of lecturers and above prior to the "Great Cultural Revolution." Among them, over 2,700 were defined and promoted as professors, over 21,000 as associate professors and over 121,000 as lecturers. Many schools promoted by making exceptions those who had made rapid professional progresses and outstanding achievements in teaching and scientific research. According to the statistics on this period, the higher schools throughout the nation promoted by grade skipping 550 assistants as associate professors and 196 lecturers as professors. Many among them were the academic leaders in

their fields. According to the statistics of Beijing University, People's University, Beijing Teacher's College, and First and Second Foreign Language Institute, out of 857 professors and associate professors serving as advisers to graduate students working for their doctor's and master's degrees, 618, or 72.1 percent, were newly promoted in recent years. The title definition and promotion of large groups of teachers effectively encouraged them to strive for higher ideological-political levels, study hard, teach both book learning and people, actively discharge their duties of teaching and deploy scientific research work. A gratifying transformation occurred in the mental outlook of the broad teachers. In the past several years, to further improve their professional level, the various schools held all kinds of advanced study classes, attended by up to 1,000 person-times in some schools. It indicates that defining and promoting the teachers have produced a crucial promotive effect on building the teaching ranks of higher schools.

With the large numbers of title definitions and promotions, the composition of the teaching ranks of China's higher schools has changed. Today, compared with 1977, among the total number of teachers throughout the nation, the number of professors has risen from 1.2 percent to around 2 percent, that of associate professors from 1.9 percent to around 8 percent and that of lecturers from 14.8 percent to around 49 percent. Some schools which had no professors and associate professors for their majors now have them. With the promotion of the middle-aged and young teachers, the average age of competent higher school teachers of the various levels has dropped. In the past 3 years, the policy on the promotion of higher school teachers has been correct, the main current has been sound and experiences have been gained, laying a foundation for the work in the future. The experiences, when summarized, are mainly as follows: (1) We must strengthen the party's leadership, define the guiding ideology and principle of teacher promotion and properly perform the ideological-political work on the leaders, cadres and teachers of the various levels. (2) We must strictly uphold the standards, comprehensively abide by the ideological-political and professional standards, correctly handle the relations between teaching and scientific research and between theory and practice, and prevent one-sidedness. (3) We must create and reinforce strict and comprehensive assessment systems and keep files on the teachers in the ideological-political, teaching, scientific research and foreign language aspects. (4) In the professional aspect, we must rely on the evaluation of experts in the field and fully develop the role of the academic (evaluation) committees of the various levels. (5) We must strengthen the work on teacher training and management and closely integrate it with the teacher promotion work.

As a result of the 10-year turmoil and the interruption of work, the large number of people awaiting definition and promotion has made the work very difficult. With the imperfections and ambiguities in some parts of the provisions on top thereof, problems have emerged. Some people overemphasize seniority, fail to uphold the standards completely and tend to seek quantity rather than quality and to make accommodations and

allowances. Others overlook the ideological-political aspect and fail to follow the red and expert requirement. Still others fail to correctly handle the relations of teaching with scientific research and of theory with practice and disregard the ability to teach and solve practical problems. As one requirement for promotion to a lecturer is independent lecturing on certain subjects, the assistants vie with one another to ascend the lectern, thereby affecting the teaching quality. Some schools fail to create and reinforce the teachers' assessment system, to have adequate data for teacher assessment and evaluation and to perform detailed and concrete work on data verification and appraisal. In evaluation, they act according to impressions. In assessing teaching work, they fail to measure the quality and quantity comprehensively. In appraising scientific research achievements and academic papers and writings, they stress quality and scientific value and fail to give adequate attention to practical value and social effect. The procedure of evaluation is not uniform throughout the country. In some schools, the academic committee still lacks soundness. Though the conditions for organizing evaluation by experts exist, the departments in charge of education in some provinces have not done so. Others have formed professors' competency evaluation committees, but the divisions of academic subjects are too general, failing to properly satisfy the requirement of relying on experts in the field in the professional aspect. All these should be solved in the work hereafter.

Not long ago in Beijing, the Ministry of Education held a forum on the promotion of higher school teachers. On the basis of summarizing the experiences of the past 3 years, the forum formulated "Opinions on Implementing the State Council's 'Temporary Provisions on the Titles of Teachers of Higher Schools and Their Definition and the Method of Promotion'" and decided that, beginning this year, the promotion of teachers will be handled as a regular task and systematized. Systematizing means that definition and promotion work will be scheduled every year or 2 to evaluate the teachers individually in strict accordance with the uniform standards, requirements and procedures, and only those truly qualified will be promoted.

The creation of the system on teachers' titles by the state is for the purpose of strengthening the building of higher school teaching ranks and encouraging the teachers to actively perform their duties, continuously improve their teaching quality and scientific research level and train personnel for the four modernization construction more successfully. It is the basic goal of title definition and promotion. Apart from this goal, promoting for the sake of promotion, making allowances, giving consideration, seeking connections and pursuing quantity at the expense of quality will make title definition and promotion meaningless.

To achieve the above goal, the forum demanded that, in the promotion of higher school teachers in the future, attention must be given to the following items of work:

First, the guiding ideology must be clarified and the principle of "adhering to standards, ensuring quality, making comprehensive assessments and selecting the superior for promotion" must continue to be implemented. The core of this principle is quality guarantee. Comprehensive assessment is the basis of evaluation work and adhering to standards the key. Only by adhering to the standards, making comprehensive assessments and selecting the superior for promotion will quality be ensured.

Next, regular, strict and comprehensive assessment systems and files must be created and reinforced, in order to systematize teacher promotion. The assessment record and appraisal data should consist of the ideological-political and professional aspects. The ideological-political aspect should include ideological-political manifestations, moral quality, work attitude and the performance of ideological-political work on the students. The professional aspect should include the quality and quantity of teaching work, the level and achievements of scientific research and the mastery of foreign languages. In regard to teaching material, research achievements in teaching methods, scientific papers, writings and translations and scientific and technical inventions and creations, experts in the field must be asked to make evaluations and write appraisals, which will be included in the files. In the future, generally at the end of each semester or academic year, assessments of the teachers' ideological-political and professional aspects and reassessments of ordinary data must be made.

In short, before promotion, ample reliable data should be used as the basis of evaluation, and the evaluation should be more careful and accurate.

Third, the standards must be fully and strictly upheld. According to the current situation, in the ideological-political aspect, the teachers must be able to uphold the four basic principles, follow the need of the work, conscientiously discharge their duties, observe law and discipline, possess an upright work style, behave well and actively perform the students' ideological-political work, teaching both book learning and people. These requirements are determined by the socialist nature of China's schools and its education policy, and also constitute a major characteristic of the system on the titles of our higher school teachers. These ideological-political requirements must be strictly followed.

In the professional aspect, the teachers must correctly master the relations between teaching and scientific research, guarding against concentrating on one at the expense of the other. We aim to build China's key higher schools into dual centers of teaching and scientific research. Nevertheless, as teachers, they must give first attention to teaching and complete their teaching tasks in an outstanding manner. It is their basic duty. Therefore, in title definition and promotion, whether they are teachers of basic, general and laboratory courses, or of specialized courses, their teaching work and teaching results must first be examined, to determine whether they have performed the duties called for under

their current titles and whether they have properly fulfilled their responsibilities. To ensure the teaching quality, the professors, assistant professors and lecturers must all give classroom lectures, and all those who do not proceed to the front line of teaching and complete the total volume of teaching work specified or whose teaching results are poor should be regarded as ineligible for promotion and refused promotion.

To ensure the teaching quality, in the future, when assistants are being considered as lecturers, they will not, as a rule, be required to have formally taught a certain course. Whether they have skillfully performed their work as assistants and produced good results should be first determined. Thereafter, mainly by means of trial lecturing and oral examination, their qualification to give independent lectures on a certain course will be determined. It will permit the incumbent lecturers, associate professors and professors to continue to lecture and develop the enthusiasm of the assistants in work of other aspects. The requirement for lecturers to become associate professors and for the latter to become professors is that they must be able to teach two or more courses, including one basic, specialized basic or new elective course, and their teaching must be superior and the results good. Those unable to perform the task of teaching a basic, specialized basic or new elective course will not be promoted. This requirement will help strengthen the teaching of basic courses and improve the quality of professors and associate professors.

Naturally, all higher school teachers should be able to both teach and do scientific research. Teachers are the crucial front army of China's scientific research work. Furthermore, without scientific research, it will be difficult to improve the teaching quality. In making promotions, attention must be given to the fact that the requirements on the teaching and scientific research tasks of teachers of basic and general courses and those of specialized courses are somewhat different; therefore, somewhat different standards should be applied in their assessments and evaluations. In regard to teachers of basic and general courses, the emphasis should be placed on their teaching work, though the requirement in scientific research should not be overlooked. The teaching material written by them, their lecture notes, their study results in teaching method and educational theory and their innovation and creation of teaching instruments and equipment should all be considered as the results of scientific research. In regard to teachers of specialized courses, teaching and scientific research should be equally emphasized. When examining the results of their scientific research, we must not just look at their academic papers and writings, because these are not the only forms reflecting the results of scientific research. In regard to academic papers and writings, mainly we should look at their quality and scientific value and their contribution to scientific development and the four modernization construction. In regard to the theoretical level of academic papers and writings in social science, we must give attention to their contribution and scientific value in social science and their social results after

publication to arrive at a scientific evaluation. The mere fact of having written something should not serve as the main basis for promotion, for otherwise it will lead the teachers to scorn teaching or be unwilling to teach, or to take a very narrow view of scientific research and devote themselves exclusively to writing. Naturally, it does not mean that academic papers and writings are unimportant; what it means is that the tendency to break away from teaching and from reality must not be fostered.

In addition, attention must be given to the requirement of foreign languages. The knowledge in foreign languages is totally necessary for many teachers. The foreign language requirements on teachers of natural science and on those of social sciences which have a direct link with foreign languages should follow the stipulations in the "Temporary Provisions." In recent years, in consideration of the fact that the teachers have been out of practice in foreign languages for a long time, the requirements have in fact been relaxed. As their foreign language level has made some recovery and improvement during this period, the stipulated level should be observed in the future. In regard to subjects with no direct link with foreign language and in regard to a small number of teachers with special reasons, the foreign language requirements may be relaxed or waived. Foreign language teachers, as a rule, should know a second foreign language, but this requirement may be relaxed or waived for those with special reasons. In regard to teachers who majored in Russian and graduated in the early fifties and later shifted to teaching English or other languages, their special conditions should be given consideration, and the levels of their Russian, English or other languages and their work results comprehensively balanced. If they are basically eligible for higher titles, they may be promoted.

The promotion of "double duty" cadres must be correctly handled. In their promotion, we must primarily make clear and advocate that the goal of "double duty" is to enable the school cadres to know both politics and profession and develop along the red and expert direction and to strengthen the building of socialist universities. Practiced in their field and well versed in the laws on running schools, these comrades play a significant role. In their promotion, attention must be given to the examination of their ideological-political manifestations, policy level, organizational leadership and management ability and their work achievements. In regard to their teaching work, they should not be measured by the same standards as full-time teachers, but they must also be basically qualified. As a rule, the comrades who have long left teaching will not be evaluated for teaching titles. In short, the promotion of "double duty" cadres is to encourage them to remain in teaching and promote their devotion to party and government and management work.

Based on the experiences of the past 3 years, the forum also formulated a uniform evaluation procedure, embodying the principle of combining the leaders, experts and masses. It is a prerequisite to guaranteeing the quality of promotion and a reform in evaluation work. In the future, all

departments concerned and higher schools must strictly follow the stipulated procedure. Schools and the various levels of provincial, municipal and autonomous regions organs in charge which fail to observe the procedure will not be given approval for their teaching titles.

In regard to the authority of examination and approval, in 1978, in line with the conditions at that time, it was provided that, within the schools, the party committees were empowered to examine and approve. The forum felt that, in accordance with the spirit of labor division between the party and the administration and the practical conditions of the higher schools, the relevant portions of the State Council's 1960 "Temporary Provisions" should be reinstated, and it decided that the promotion of assistants to lecturers will be examined and approved by the school affairs committee and that the promotion to associate professors by the provincial, municipal and autonomous regional higher education departments. Before the creation of the school affairs committee, the party committee will remain in charge within the school. The Ministry of Education will resume the examination and approval of professors, mainly in consideration of the fact that professorship, which is the highest title for the teachers of our higher schools, represents the teaching and scientific research levels of the schools.

The examination and approval of professorship by the Ministry of Education do not diminish the responsibilities of the schools and the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions. To ensure the quality of the professors, primarily the schools must strictly enforce the standards, ascertaining the qualifications of the professorial candidates and the completeness and accuracy of the material submitted. The main tasks of the provincial, municipal and autonomous regional higher education departments are: first, organize experts in the field to make professional evaluations and propose opinions; next, conduct a general examination based on the experts' evaluations and the candidate's ideological-political manifestations and submit proposals for approval by the Ministry of Education. In short, only when the schools and the provincial, municipal and autonomous regional higher education departments perform their part conscientiously will the work be successful.

Fourth, the party's leadership must be reinforced and the ideological-political work properly performed. These constitute the basic guarantee for the success of teacher promotion work. A solemn and painstaking task with strong policy and academic natures, the promotion of teachers will have a great impact on the ideological-political work, teaching and scientific research, and administration and management of the schools. The school party committees and administrations of the various levels must earnestly reinforce leadership. Reinforcing the party's leadership is primarily reinforcing leadership in principles and policies and in ideology and politics. In teacher promotion, the school party committees must discuss the major issues in the promotion program proposed by the schools and make decisions.

All kinds of ideological problems will emerge in teacher promotion work. The school party committees, educational administration departments and party organizations must properly perform the ideological work in conjunction with reality and in accordance with the relevant principles and policies. They must encourage progress, guard against accommodating backwardness and overcome the mentality of "fearing to give offense." They must develop the role of the party branch as a fighting fortress and a model for the party members. The problems in work and the practices incompatible with the policies and provisions must be promptly rectified. The leaders, cadres and experts of all levels must have the courage to uphold principles, act impartially, handle matters justly, refrain from favoritism and ensure the sound progress of teacher promotion work.

"Opinions on Implementing the State Council's 'Temporary Provisions on the Titles of Teachers of Higher Schools and Their definition and the Method of Promotion'" serve as a regulation on the building of the higher school teaching ranks. The higher education departments and higher schools of all areas must conscientiously observe it, strengthen the building of the teaching ranks, continuously improve the teaching quality and scientific research level and make greater contributions to the training of construction personnel.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

INCIDENTS OF TEACHER-BEATING SPOTLIGHTED

Telephone Conference

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 24 Jul 82 p 1

[Report: "Jiao Linyi Stresses at Telephone Conference Convened in Hunan Province: Solemnly Handle Incidents Involving Assault on Teachers and Looting, Occupation of School Properties; Decision Is Made To Dispatch Two Inspection Teams to Xintian and Xiangxiang Counties To Solve and Handle Problems"]

[Text] On 16 July, the Hunan Provincial Party Committee and provincial government convened a telephone conference over several urgent problems, including the solemn handling of incidents such as assault on teachers, looting, and occupation of school properties. Secretary of the provincial party committee Jiao Linyi [3542 2651 5030] gave a speech. The provincial party committee decided to dispatch two inspection teams to the more problematic Xintian and Xiangxiang Counties to carry out inspection.

After the last few years of restoration and readjustment with regard to the countryside middle and elementary schools in Hunan Province, the situation has somewhat turned for the better; but today new, serious problems have popped up again, and these have to do mainly with the fact that incidents like the beating and abusing of teachers, and looting and occupation of school properties occur quite frequently.

In 1981, over 700 incidents of the beating and abusing of teachers took place across the province; in the first half of this year, more than 300 such incidents again broke out. The problem is very serious. For instance, truck driver Yang Chunfang [2799 2504 5364] of the supply-marketing joint cooperative in Yueshan District, Xiangxiang County, because his child was made to sit on a student desk constructed with bricks, chose to viciously beat up the school principal Tan Lianjiao [6223 5571 1207] and also tear up all her clothing above the waist. Afterwards, the Xiangxiang County court sentenced Yang Chunfang to 5 months of retention. But the secretary of the party branch at the supply-marketing joint cooperative and the deputy secretary of its party committee somehow chose to do their best to interfere with the sentence; they instigated some who did not know what went on to go to the city and make a noisy scene at the court. This had a very bad impact on teachers and the masses across the county. In February this year, some commune members in Xintian County, taking advantage of the occasion

when teachers were out in the city to buy books, went to the schools to loot dozens of properties such as doors, windows, office desks, blackboards, cabins, cooking utensils, etc. This has not been solemnly dealt with even up to this day.

During the telephone conference, Jiao Linyi demanded in behalf of the provincial party committee: various regions, municipalities and counties should conduct an overall inspection regarding the problems in this respect and solemnly, seriously handle them according to their different situations and pertinent policy regulations. Whosoever resorted to beating and abusing of the teachers must all examine themselves in public, offer their apologies, and express their regrets as well as undertake to pay the resultant medical expenses. Where a situation happened to be more serious, party discipline and the law of the state must be invoked: those who should be dismissed, do so; those who should be expelled from party membership, do so; and those who should be punished according to law, do so. Those who sought to shelter are condoning the perpetrators and should be investigated retroactively without excuse. Whosoever occupied or looted school properties, be they units or individuals, must return all of them and pay the damages incurred; those who refuse to return or pay must be given economic sanctions or even punishment according to law. They must take the solving of these several current problems in middle and elementary school education in the countryside as the most urgent and most practical work in the implementation of our policy toward the intellectuals, and grasp it closely and handle it well. Various localities must, in conjunction with the inspection and handling of the above problems, carry out a propaganda campaign and education on loving schools and respecting teachers. The provincial party committee has decided to have a deputy director under the standing committee of the provincial people's congress and a deputy provincial governor take the lead to organize two inspection teams to go respectively to Xintian and Xiangxiang Counties to carry out inspection. The regional, municipal party committees shall submit written reports to the provincial party committee on the situation as to how the spirit of this telephone conference is implemented and how problems are solved and handled.

Comfort Calls

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 24 Jul 82 p 1

[Report: "Leaders of China Education Union and Beijing Municipal Trade Union Head Office Pay Comfort Calls on Three Beaten-up Women Teachers"]

[Text] Reporter Xu Huaxi [1776 5478 6007] reports: Vice Chairman of the China Education Union Zhang Huai [1728 3232], Vice Chairman Xu Ping [6079 1627], Director Xu Naiqian [1776 0035 0051] of the Public Health Work Committee, Culture and Education Division, Municipal Trade Union Head Office, and others made a special trip on 23 July to visit beaten-up women teachers Yu Xuerong [0060 1331 2837], Fan Qiulan [5400 4428 5695], Liu Fengzhen [0491 7685 3791] to warmly comfort them and tell them that the Beijing Municipal Trade Union Head Office has already made arrangements for them to go to the Beijing Workers' Sanatorium to recuperate.

After a period of medication, the three women teachers' conditions have further turned for the better; they can all get down to walk around now and they have all returned to their own homes to recuperate. These leading comrades went to their homes to warmly chat with them and encourage them to overcome their injuries and return to their teaching posts.

Comrade Zhang Huai said to Liu Fengzhen: "I represent the China Education Union and teachers of the whole country to express to you their sympathy and solicitude as well as support, and our reproach against the barbaric conduct of Wang Xingkuan [3769 5281 1401] and others. We hear that your family has four teachers; your father has been even an advanced teacher with 28 years of teaching seniority, and he encourages you not to be afraid of such attacks and continue to follow the teaching profession. We are highly pleased." With tears in her eyes Liu Fengzhen replied: "The fact that the party and government show such concern and care about us indicates that being a teacher is of exceptional honor." At Fan Qiulan's home, Comrade Xu Ping said: "Teachers are a part of the working class and a force on which it depends; you should be respected by the entire society. Discrimination against, and beating and scolding of teachers cannot be tolerated by staff members and workers in the various circles of the whole municipality." Said Fan Qiulan: "Without the party and the masses behind us, our problems could not have been solved in such satisfactory fashion." Yu Xuerong said to the several leaders: "I feel light and relaxed when I walk today, and my appetite has increased. We have received comfort letters from many units and individuals across the country; I am deeply moved." The three women teachers also told the leading comrades that today various social circles are very much concerned about their health: the hospital of a certain troop unit stationed in the capital took the initiative to take them to their hospital for care; the sanatorium of a certain troop unit stationed in the summer villa in Chengde, Hebei, also welcomed them to go there for care; an old physician of 50-plus years even made a special trip from Beijing Municipality to administer acupuncture for them, and this made their conditions conspicuously turn for the better. They indicated to the leading comrades that they are determined to recuperate well and strive to return to the first line of teaching as early as possible.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

UTILITARIANISM OF LITERATURE, ART ANALYZED

Kunming SIXIANZHANXIAN [JOURNAL OF YUNNAN UNIVERSITY] No 2 1982 pp 35-38

[Article by Yang Zhenduo [2799 2182 6995]: "On the Utilitarianism of Literature and Art"]

[Text] It has been 40 years since the publication of Comrade Mao Zedong's "Talk at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art." Comrade Mao Zedong's speech, utilizing the standpoint, viewpoint, and methods of Marxism specifically aimed at a series of then-current, fundamental problems relating to the practice of Chinese revolutionary literature and art, carried out analysis and study in a manner of seeking truth from facts, arrived at scientific conclusions and, hence, promoted the advancement of the Chinese revolutionary literary and artistic movement. At the same time, it also enriched and developed a good many fundamental principles of the Marxist theory of literature and art. Practice has proven that the fundamental spirit, of Comrade Mao Zedong's speech as well as the many literary and artistic principles of a fundamental nature that he elucidated therein, are completely correct. Our tying in these principles with the new, actual circumstances of today, and conscientiously studying Comrade Mao Zedong's speech anew, still has extremely important practical significance for the flourishing and development of the enterprise of socialist literature and art.

Revolutionary literature and art is "a component part of the total machinery of revolution" and, as such, possesses a clear utilitarianism. This is one of the fundamental points of departure in Comrade Mao Zedong's speech. In our socialist country, the responsibility of authors is fundamentally the same as that of workers, peasants, soldiers, and teachers--they must all conscientiously serve the people, and serve society. This point is extraordinarily clear. Moreover, authors are "engineers of the soul," and educators of others, and bear the heavy responsibility of building socialist spiritual civilization and molding people's aesthetic sensibilities. For this reason, an awareness of writing for a clear utilitarian purpose should be particularly emphasized. It would seem that this matter ought to be self-evident. However, in the course of discussing some current problems in literature and art, some comrades appear to be a bit "vague" on this issue. "Governing without doing anything contrary to nature," "objectlessness," "self-expression," "spontaneity," etc. all reveal a certain tendency towards the notion of "art for art's sake." For this reason, in commemorating Comrade Mao Zedong's speech it is extremely necessary for us to discuss this question.

The utilitarianism of literature and art is one of its basic characteristics, and this is not only the case for socialist literature and art; it is true of all ideological literature and art. Traced back to their ultimate origins, from their very inception literature and art have possessed an "innate" utilitarianism. In primitive society, literature and art are produced through adaptation to humans' practice of labor. Literature and art of the "heave-ho, heave-ho school" espoused by Lu Xun is produced in order to work in coordination with the activities of collective labor, bring about an interchange of the ideological intentions of labor, and give expression to the emotions felt during labor. Plekhanov said: "Man first observed things and phenomena from the viewpoint of utility," thus affirming that the recognition of utility was earlier than any understanding of aesthetic appreciation. This view is completely correct. With the arrival of class society, humans were divided into different classes, and people's thinking and behavior could not but be determined by specific class advantage. Since literature and art are the products of the life of society as reflected in the minds of authors, the creative work of authors proceeds from feeling, and is produced with some definite idea in mind, so that literary and artistic creation of necessity has utilitarianism and directionality. This originally is an objective fact, and is an objective law of literary and artistic creation. However, throughout the history of the development of literature, there has nevertheless existed a different viewpoint regarding this fact. Many authors and literary and artistic theoreticians have clearly explained the utilitarianism of literature and art as it really is, for example, Confucius' theory of xing [5281] (allegory, symbolic presentation), guan [6034] (observation), qun [5028] (human relations), yuan [1841] (sentiments) and Bai Juyi's being in favor of writing poetry that deals with contemporary issues. In ancient Western literary and artistic theory, Aristotle considered that tragedy was capable of bringing about a "catharsis" of people's emotions; Diderot considered that moral education was the core of the theater, and that the theater was capable of having an effect on bad people such that "after leaving the theater, their tendency to do bad things would have been lessened." Though they all treat the question of utilitarianism from their own standpoint, nevertheless, from various angles they have all illustrated the utilitarianism of literary and artistic creation. Nevertheless, there are also some authors and literary and artistic theoreticians who are either not clearly aware of the problem or, though they are aware of it, nevertheless deliberately want to deny this fact (of the utilitarianism of literature and art). Thus, all kinds of slogans have appeared, such as "beyond utilitarianism," "no connection with advantage or harm," and "art for art's sake," even asserting that literary and artistic works are completely the products of "inspiration" or "the unconscious," or that such works are merely the playthings of "literary and artistic salons," or "ivory towers." However, no matter how "aloof from worldly considerations" they disguise themselves as being, no matter how "abstruse" their exposition and argumentation, and no matter whether it is intentional or not, objectively their works, whether clearly or obscurely, whether directly or indirectly, contain within themselves some definite utilitarian objective. As for the well-known English author Oscar Wilde who espoused the notion of "aestheticism," although he clearly asserted that: "'Falsehood,' i.e., the narration of things which are beautiful but not true, is the original aim of art," nevertheless his works are definitely not merely concerned with the description of pure "beauty." Some of his works, using the technique of

eulogy, promote the hedonistic lifestyle and ideology of the propertied class, and some of his works even slander socialism. "Aestheticism," as the term suggests, considers "beauty" to be the highest, and is concerned only with "pure beauty" and not with other things. Nevertheless, in fact, "aestheticism" cannot conceal its certain degree of utilitarianism. Certain works of Wilde, such as "The Prince of Pleasure," express sympathy with the poor and lowly. Of course, this includes yet another kind of utilitarianism. For this reason, utilitarianism is truly one of the fundamental attributes of ideological literature and art. This fact cannot be altered by human intention. Whether you accept it or not, and whether you are aware of it or not, if you refrain from writing literary works that is one thing, but once you write a work it will have a definite utilitarianism. It is precisely like Lu Xun's sharp satire of those who vaunt the notion of creating only "for themselves"; if they really wrote "for themselves," or had really "transcended the world" they ought not to have written any works at all. "Because, once they have written a book for others to read, their work then becomes 'for others.'" Once you write a book for others to read, it is then a means of expressing and propagandizing your own viewpoint, with the aim of influencing others. How, then, can it not possess utilitarianism?

Since the utilitarianism of literature and art is "innate," it is one of their fundamental, intrinsic attributes, and not something which is added on from outside; and since literature and art from ancient times to the present have without any exception possessed a certain degree of utilitarianism, then naturally it is to be expected that the proletariat will consciously and deliberately master this law for the service of its own enterprise. Lenin publicly and clearly brought out the principle of the party nature of proletariat revolutionary literature and art, and pointed out that revolutionary literature and art is the "cogs and screws" of the entire machinery of revolution. Comrade Mao Zedong clearly brought out the idea that literature and art must serve the masses, and first of all the workers, peasants, and soldiers. Today, the party Central Committee is again proposing the correct slogan that literature and art must serve the people and serve socialism. This constitutes a scientific explanation, on the basis of seeking truth from facts, of the question of the utilitarianism of literature and art that employs the viewpoint of Marxism and proceeds from a basis of reality. It must be said that this, as far as our understanding of the utilitarianism of literature and art is concerned, already represents a great step forward from a "kingdom of necessity" to a "kingdom of freedom." Practice has proven that requiring proletarian authors to consciously recognize and properly master this law of the utilitarianism of literature and art in engaging in their creative work has a good result. Has not the practice in creative work of Gao Erji and Lu Xun, as well as that of the broad masses of authors in the wake of the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art, amply demonstrated that the conscientious use of literary works in the service of the proletariat's enterprise has already achieved tremendous results? And is this not a forceful refutation of the erroneous doctrines that as soon as you speak of a work's utilitarianism you must of necessity overlook its artistic nature, that as soon as you bring up utilitarianism you must of necessity "limit" art, and that as soon as there is a utilitarian objective the "beauty" of a work is necessarily "spoiled?" In short, the Marxist theory of literature and art has an accurate, dialectical understanding of the question of the utilitarianism of literature and art, and is in favor of authors' conscientiously implementing it, and this,

compared to the vagueness or incorrectness of ancient authors and theoreticians on this question, represents a higher level of awareness, and is certainly more beneficial for improving the quality of literary and artistic creation and bringing into full play the social function of literary and artistic works.

The ideological nature and the artistic nature of literary and artistic works are their two basic attributes (their ideological nature includes their utilitarian objective), and the two form a dialectical unity. The marxist theory of literature and art, along with emphasizing the utilitarianism of literature and art, places great importance on their artistic nature, places importance on the particular laws of literary and artistic creation, and emphasizes the idea that only if they possess an artistic nature can literary and artistic works bring into full play their effect of exerting a subtle influence on people. However, over a comparatively long period in the [recent] past, owing to the influence of extreme leftist ideological currents, our understanding of the utilitarianism of literature and art has been too narrow. Particularly in one of the more important manifestations of its utilitarianism, i.e., the question of the relationship between literature and art and politics, a one-sided view has appeared, emphasizing the subordination of literature and art to politics, which has produced bad results. After the overthrow of the "gang of four" and bringing order out of chaos, a penetrating and meticulous discussion of the relationship between literature and art and politics was carried out, which fundamentally arrived at the conclusion of looking upon literature and art and politics, in a manner of seeking truth from facts, as having a dialectical relationship; and clarified the facts that there is originally an intimate connection between literature and art and politics, that they cannot be separated from politics, but that it would not be proper to propose the slogan that "literature and art must serve politics." These conclusions have done much to promote the healthy development of the enterprise of literature and art. However, along with obtaining this positive result, we must also be aware of the fact that under the influence of the tendency towards bourgeois liberalization there have also appeared some tortuous, erroneous arguments having the intention of denying the utilitarianism of literature and art, and these should arouse our serious attention, and be clarified.

One situation has been an inability, in studying and discussing some historical theories and schools of literature and art that deny the utilitarianism of literature and art, to make an analysis and evaluation on the basis of seeking truth from facts. For example, an overly high evaluation and affirmation has been made of Kant's theory of "pure art" and his theory that "beauty is unconnected with advantage or harm"; regarding Plekhanov's contradictory opinions on the question of the utilitarianism of literature and art, the places where they are not in accord with reality have not been pointed out, and on the contrary these erroneous places have been fully affirmed; also, there has been an uncritical, excessive esteem of certain formalist schools of Western, modernist literature and art, etc. Perhaps people will say that this is all part of our process of "exploration." But we consider that the aim of this kind of exploration still lies in "utilizing ancient things for the benefit of the present," and "utilizing Western things for the benefit of China," and it must still be of advantage to the development of the enterprise of socialist literature and art.

For this reason, we should make a study and analysis of the theories of our predecessors that is based on historical materialism and seeking truth from facts, so as to absorb their reasonable essence, and reject their erroneous dregs. To be sure, in the course of this study differences of opinion may occur. But in the final analysis, practice is the only standard for testing theory. If we decide to go ahead and be overly fond of some theory that we ourselves believe practice has proven to be incorrect, then, one fears, not only will nothing new have been learned from this "exploration" but, on the contrary, we will merely have caused the "dregs to rise to the surface."

Kant may truly be considered to be the ancestor of the theories of "transcending utilitarianism" and "pure art" and it is universally acknowledged that the theory of "pure art" later propagated by many bourgeois idealists, including the rejection of the social function of literature and art advocated by certain formalist schools of Western, modernist literature and art, is in large measure based on Kant's theory of "pure art." And although Plekhanov passed unfavorable judgment on Kant in some respects regarding the question of the utilitarianism of literature and art, nevertheless he finally compromised and accommodated Kant's theories. This fact, one fears, also cannot be denied. The area in which Plekhanov compromised with Kant consists of his having agreed with Kant's viewpoint of denying the effect of people's thought and reason in the process of aesthetic appreciation, considering that aesthetic appreciation is merely a matter of "feeling" and "direct sense perception" and, hence, denying the intimate connection between aesthetic perception and rational knowledge (including utilitarian objectives). However, the history of the human race clearly demonstrates that beauty and aesthetic perception are both produced in the course of the practical activities of human society, and the essential characteristic of humans' practical activities consists of their possessing a clear awareness and objective. Beauty in real life cannot be totally divorced from the utilitarian restriction and influence. Beauty in social life and the literary and artistic work reflecting such beauty is unquestionably under this influence. Natural beauty can neither deviate itself from this restriction, since natural beauty is created by human effort in relating reality with nature, in modifying nature, in humanizing nature and in experiencing the strength of human quality through nature. Literary and artistic works which reflect and describe natural beauty convey man's sentiments and evaluation of nature. Therefore, how can natural beauty, and literary and artistic works that deal with natural beauty, be separated from the influence of utility? Where in the world is there any "beauty," or literary and artistic works, that "transcend utility" or have "no connection with benefit or harm?"

Yet another tendency that seeks to deny the utilitarianism of literature and art is revealed in the course of discussing the question of the process of literary and artistic creation. There are also two different circumstances at work here. The first is the absolute emphasis on "describing the truth," advocating that everything in life be described exactly as it is, the essence of which is recommending description in the manner of "pure objectivity." Of course, the advocating of "pure objectivity" in itself is not necessarily devoid of utilitarianism. But the intention of this position is to break away from the subjectivity and directionality inherent in literary and artistic creation, and in reality it also rejects the idea of authors having any clear utilitarian objective in writing. And yet another circumstance is an undue emphasis on the

effect, in the course of literary and artistic creation, of the factors of "intuition," "the unconscious," and "spontaneity," even to the point of maintaining that in the course of literary and artistic creation authors fundamentally need not have any theme. These views both, whether intentionally or not, have denied the subjective, dynamic role of authors in the creative process, and this naturally also includes rejecting the notion that authors have any utilitarian aim in writing. Both of the above viewpoints impinge upon the fundamental questions of the creation of, and the appreciation of, literature and art, which are the fundamental questions of literature and art themselves. Marxism considers that the essence of literature and art is a product of the life of society as reflected in the minds of authors. This viewpoint points out in a true-to-life manner the fact that literary and artistic works are the products of a combination of the objective element of the life of society and the subjective element of the author's mind (including ideology and feelings), and that all literary and artistic creation represents a process of uniting these contradictory subjective and objective elements. Authors proceed from a basis of the realities of life in engaging in creative activity; in their reporting on life authors are not passive, or mechanical, but play a dynamic role in this reporting; authors use their own standpoint and viewpoints to observe and evaluate life, subjecting the source materials of life to a process of selection, generalization, concentration, even fabrication; and cause their own ideology and feelings to seep through into the literary and artistic forms, using the medium of classical forms to report on the essence of life. And so, there is nothing at all objectless or unconscious about authors' engaging in creative work. All authors use the medium of molding artistic forms to express their own loves and hates and their concepts of right and wrong. In a word, authors have a purpose in what they are doing. In the world there has never been any so-called "pure art" or "pure beauty" that does not have any utilitarianism or directionality, or that does not have any objective. If we want to make a great show of being in earnest in seeking out this "pure art" or "pure beauty," then, one fears, that will only be a kind of exploration in very narrow places, or even, as Lu Xun put it, an "imaginary illusion."

Perhaps some people are concerned that once we emphasize utilitarianism we will also embark upon a divergent road in the service of a narrow utility. Actually, there is no necessity for this. Regarding this question, Comrade Mao Zedong said: "We are proletarian, revolutionary utilitarianists; we proceed from a basis of a unity of the present advantage and future advantage of the broadest masses occupying over 90 percent of the total population. Therefore, we are utilitarianists of a revolution having the broadest and most distant goals, and not narrow utilitarianists who see only a part of the whole situation or only the present." Our bringing up today the slogan that literature and art must serve the people and serve socialism is precisely the best manifestation of the meaning of this passage. As for narrow, vulgar utilitarianism, one kind is that which seeks the selfish interests of individuals or small cliques, considering the individual to be absolutely the highest thing, and threatening to "disdain to manifest any great achievements apart from one's own personal feelings," establishing a fundamental opposition between the individual and the people; and of course we are resolutely opposed to this. Yet another kind is having short-sighted, narrow vision, considering utility to be entirely a question of present politics while also considering politics to be entirely a question of class struggle, or understanding politics to consist merely of the

concrete policies of a specific period. Hence, the utilitarianism of literature and art becomes a matter of "describing the heart of the matter, [writing for the central government]" or providing a graphic explanation of policy. This, then, is in fundamental violation of literature and art's special quality of being a rich and complex reflection of the life of society. The slogan that literature and art must serve the people and serve socialism possesses very real and broad significance. Literature and art must both reflect and influence economics, politics, military matters, culture, as well as all other areas of life; literature and art must be employed to promote the building of socialist spiritual civilization and improve the masses' morals, morale, and sentiments, so as to instill in them the ideal of the new communist man; and literature and art must also satisfy the masses' daily-growing need for cultural enjoyments and aesthetic appreciation. And all of this in the final analysis will serve the enterprise of socialism and communism, and serve the fundamental present and long-term advantage of the masses. This kind of utilitarianism is truly the most broad, far-reaching, and sublime, and is what every one of us revolutionaries should be striving for. Since our authors are socialist authors, should we not, when we take up our pens to write, conscientiously consider this "most broad and far-reaching" utilitarianism? Should we not conscientiously and seriously consider our own responsibility, and the social effect of our works? Without any doubt, authors should continue to persevere in the direction proposed by Comrade Mao Zedong and developed by him under socialist conditions--that literature and art must serve the people and serve socialism; and they should throw themselves into the great, powerful historical current of the building of socialist material and spiritual civilization; and make every effort to utilize the scientific, Marxist world-view, be filled with revolutionary fervor, vividly describe the life and ideals of the broad masses, display the forward-moving step of the modern era, and mold the artistic forms of the new man to inspire, encourage, and urge on the masses to continue to advance bravely.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

LIANG QICHAO'S OPPOSITION TO YUAN SHIKAI DISCUSSED

Lanzhou GANSU RIBAO in Chinese 27 Aug 82 p 4

[Article by Han Guocui [3352 0948 4388]: "Some Views on Appraising Liang Qichao's Opposition to Yuan Shikai"]

[Text] On the activities and role of Liang Qichao in his opposition to Yuan Shikai's decision to style himself emperor, Comrade Fang Hanqi [2455 3352 1142] has stated as follows in his "History of Modern Newspapers and Journals in China";

"During the few years from 1912 to 1915, the relationship between Liang Qichao and Yuan Shikai was very close. During those few years, he served under Yuan Shikai as the premier of his cabinet of talents and as a councilor in the Political Council, Liang accepted the monthly writing expense of 3,000 yuan presented by Yuan Shikai as a kind of recruitment fee, acted as Yuan's high-class retainer, and supplied not a few pointers to, and shouted not a few hurrahs for, Yuan in the formulation of his domestic and foreign policies. Not until Yuan's machination for acceding to the throne met with widespread resistance and looked absolutely hopeless did Liang come forward in a hurry with the article "Strange, Indeed, Is the So-called Form of State Question" in the "Great China" published by the Zhonghua Book Company of which he then served as the editor in chief for the purpose of expressing a different opinion. Because the machination for accession to the throne was not popular and on account of his reputation, this article was passed on and quoted for quite a while, became rather influential, and also garnered not a little political capital for the author, who turned suddenly from a crony and accomplice in the Yuan government into an anti-Yuan warrior. Actually, his goal was very clear, and that was to seize a banner. On this point he stated very clearly in a letter to a partisan: At such a time when all under heaven are venting their anger, if I fail to establish my own status, I am afraid there will be those who would like to seduce and make use of me, thereby raising an appeal for justice in my name. Thus turned into a clumsy follower, how am I going to stand erect?"

This statement can hardly be called fair, and it is certainly far removed from historical truth and a distortion of the genuine complexion of history; it can hardly convince people. Here, Liang Qichao's just conduct in opposing Yuan Shikai's attempt to style himself emperor is obliterated and

turned into "political opportunism" and "seizure of a banner," thus lacking any progressive effect whatsoever. However, history cannot be obliterated. Perhaps Comrade Fang Hanqi also cannot but recognize General Cai E's role and heroic position in the expedition against Yuan and in defense of the Republic? Then let us see how General Cai put it. In his introduction to the collection of his articles and telegrams, "The Shield-Nose Collection," authored during the period of the expedition in defense of the Republic together with Liang Qichao, Cai E said:

"As the proposition for a return to monarchy was raised, the whole universe became darkened. My teacher, the gentleman from Xinhua, was able to utter straightforward self-endangering words while still in the tiger's mouth, and raised a hue and cry. Hence, people's already deadened hearts became excited and resuscitated. What the gentleman said was what everybody in the country wished to say but also what everybody in the country dared not say. Except for what the gentleman said, no one under heaven would have been moved.... At the juncture of autumn and winter of last year, the heat of talk about becoming an emperor could warm up one's palm upon contact. While in the capital, E had the opportunities to go to Tianjin every few days and visit the gentleman's house in order to consult with him, and receive from him our great plans. As our deployments were about ready, we took turns going down to the south. Just before we departed from each other, we agreed by saying to each other: If this matter should not come off, we shall both die for it but shall never run away. If it should come off, we both shall withdraw and definitely not remain in government."

What Cai E mentioned here as Liang Qichao's "straightforward self-endangering words while still in the tiger's mouth" meant of course the article Liang wrote in opposition to Yuan Shikai's attempt to style himself emperor, "Strange, Indeed, Is the So-called Form of State Question." Opposition to the return to monarchy was at that time a matter of life and death and a matter in terms of "what everybody in the country wished to say but also what everybody in the country dared not say." Liang Qichao himself also knew that in conducting himself this way, there would be great risks involved; in his letter cited above by Comrade Fang Hanqi, he also said something similar to "what everybody wished to say but also what everybody dared not say" as stated by Cai E. Yuan Shikai was sinister and venomous; for the sake of his own power and position, he could do almost anything. This was what Liang Qichao himself had already learned at the time of the 1898 reform. Because of Yuan Shikai's secret accusation, Liang Qichao's comrades advocating reform thus fell down in their own blood in large droves, and he himself also had to flee abroad for his life for more than 10 years. Only until the success of the 1911 revolution and the abdication of the Qing Emperor was he removed from the wanted circular. The risk involved in opposing Yuan Shikai's attempt to style himself emperor were clear to Liang Qichao. Still he did not give it a second thought because of his sense of justice and did not retreat as a result. Even when he was presented the high price of 200,000 yuan and asked not to publish the article "Strange, Indeed, Is the So-called Form of State Question," he still decidedly rejected this request. If he lacked political foresight and insight, could he have been able to do so? As for the role played by Liang Qichao in the

expedition against Yuan and in defense of the Republic, apart from what Cai E said here that he "had the opportunities to go to Tianjin every few days and visit the gentleman's house in order to consult with him and receive from him our great plans," Liang Qichao himself also mentioned in his "Report on My Personal Experience During the Expedition over the Form of Our State"; "On the day following the holding of the inaugural meeting of the Association for Preparing for the Enthroning, Mr Cai immediately visited me in Tianjin to discuss together our great plans. I said: My duty is to air opinions; therefore I must immediately write an article to oppose this forthrightly. You are on the other hand a powerful figure in the military circles; you should keep yourself from view and not incur his suspicion; then we can plan secretly for rectification. Mr Cai agreed with what I said; therefore he stayed in the capital for 2 months and dealt with Yuan under a polite pretense; this made Yuan no longer suspect him. On the other hand he secretly sent telegrams to the military circles in the two provinces of Yunnan and Guizhou to discuss the uprising." From these two passages by Liang Qichao and Cai E, we can see that Liang Qichao was really the principal planner of the Yunnan uprising staged by Cai E and others; we can even see that Cai E's plot to "keep out of view" in the capital by frequenting brothels was personally conveyed to him by Liang Qichao.

As for Comrade Fang Hanqi's allegation about Liang Qichao that "Not until Yuan's machination for acceding to the throne met with widespread resistance and looked absolutely hopeless did he come forward in a hurry with the article 'Strange, Indeed, Is the So-called Form of State Question' in the 'Great China,' published by the Zhonghua Book Company of which he then served as the editor in chief, for the purpose of expressing a different opinion." This is a further departure from the facts. Actually, Liang Qichao indicated his disagreement from the very beginning when he first heard about the deliberation on restoring the monarchy, and he did so directly to Yuan's son. In his "Report on My Personal Experience During the Expedition over the Form of Our State," Liang Qichao said: "At first, Yuan Keding invited me to dinner in January of last year. When I arrived at his house, Mr Yang Du was there also. In the course of our conversation, they repeatedly belabored the defects of the republican system and veiledly implied their wish to change the form of our state and to ask for my support. On my part, I told them the possible resultant dangers in our domestic politics and in our diplomacy. Since our expressions hardly fit in with each other, I knew that calamities were about to fall and therefore moved to Tianjin accordingly." This happened at the beginning of 1915, and it was the trial balloon and attempt to draw him over set off by a Yuan Keding banking single mindedly on becoming the "crown prince" and the ringleader of the subsequent Association for Preparing for the Enthroning, Yang Du.

In June that same year, Liang Qichao also went to see Yuan Shikai together with Feng Guozhang and admonished him not to hanker after monarchy; Yuan, too, "swore not to become an emperor." After the Association for the Enthroning was established, Yang Du sent someone to Tianjin to see Liang Qichao with a view to drawing Liang Qichao over to join them in their return-to-monarchy activities; what Liang Qichao let the messenger take back

to Yuan Du was a letter severing his friendship with the latter. How can this be said to be a case of "Not until Yuan's machination for acceding to the throne met with widespread resistance and looked absolutely hopeless" did he come forward "expressing a different opinion"?

From the entire process of the expedition in defense of the Republic, we can see that Liang Qichao not only played the role of offering ideas and designing plans, but also performed the functions of winning over allies and foreign assistance and coordinating the forces of various factions. He was the principal organizer and agitator in the anti-Yuan struggle. During the early stage of the expedition in defense of the Republic, he remained in Shanghai and did not go to the southwest; this was decided in response to the need to promote and control the overall situation. While he was personally in Shanghai, the telegrams and circulars denouncing Yuan sent out by the forces of the southwestern uprising were all authored by him; and these circulars were mostly vivid and dramatic, forceful, as well as persuasive; they produced a tremendous propagandist and agitative effect. Later on, he also instigated Lu Rongting's Viceroy of Guangxi, declaration of independence. He also eventually reached Guangxi by going through all difficulties and risking all dangers, and engendered efforts to establish the commanding headquarters and the military council for Guangdong and Guangxi, with Liang Qichao, himself, serving respectively in these two departments chief of staff and troop pacifier and concurrently commissar for political affairs. After Yuan Shikai was forced to renounce his ambition to restore monarchy, Liang Qichao insisted on the stand that, without Yuan's abdication, there was nothing to negotiate, and he maintained this stand until Yuan's sickness and death. Since Liang Qichao had played such major organizational and leading roles in the expedition in defense of the Republic and against Yuan's plot to style himself emperor, then how can such activities on his part be characterized as "political opportunism" and "seizing a banner"? If this could be called "opportunism" and this were "banner-seizing," would it not be better to have more "opportunistic" and "banner-seizing" people? On the other hand, could he have agreed with Cai E saying to each other: "If this matter should not come off, we shall both die for it and shall never run away. If it should come off, we shall both withdraw and shall definitely not remain in government." Such an above-board attitude, such determination not to remain in government if successful but to die for their cause if it turned out to be a failure, are they not entirely contrary to "political opportunism" and "seizing a banner" and such labels?

Indeed, Liang Qichao had never been a revolutionary; in the overwhelming part of his life he was engaged in putting up a rival show vis-a-vis the revolutionaries. After Yuan Shikai became president, he and Yuan Shikai made use of each other, and he dreamed about taking advantage of Yuan Shikai's trust in order to demonstrate his statesman-like ambitions. But he did not lose his political sense of reality; when Yuan Shikai plotted to style himself emperor, he examined the times and pondered on the trends and perceived that that plot could not possibly succeed. When his admonition and attempt to stop him proved fruitless, he immediately decided

to join the anti-Yuan struggle. No matter how many erroneous things he did previously, his initiative in opposing Yuan this time should still be affirmed. With respect to historical events and historical personalities, we can only analyze them concretely and treat them specifically. Since people have never denied Cai E's role in the anti-Yuan operations because he was a member of the Progressive Party, then, in treating Liang Qichao we also should not obliterate his merits in opposing Yuan just because he was a principal personality of the Progressive Party.

Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the study atmosphere of "seeking truth from facts" has gained revival and development; in respect to modern and contemporary history and personalities, appraisals in accord with historical truths have been, and are being, made. In respect to recent and ancient history, such appraisals are also bound to be made. At such a time, perhaps it is not altogether superfluous for us to bring forth an exchange of such opinions over what we regard as inappropriate places in Comrade Fang Hanqi's work.

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